

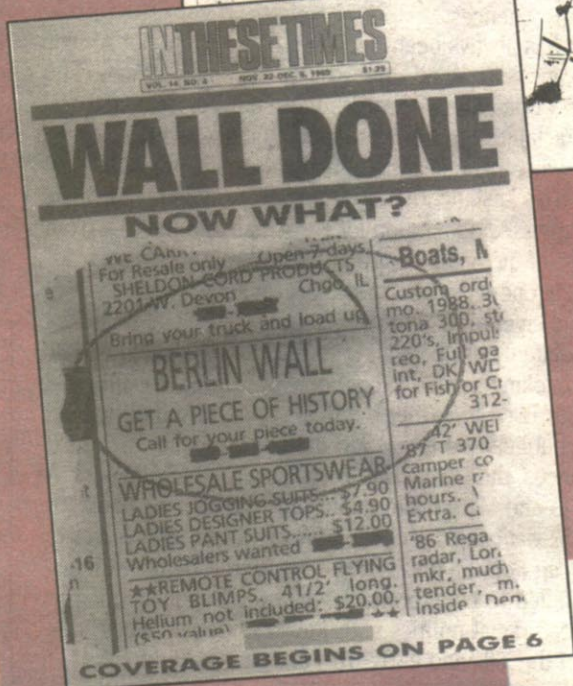
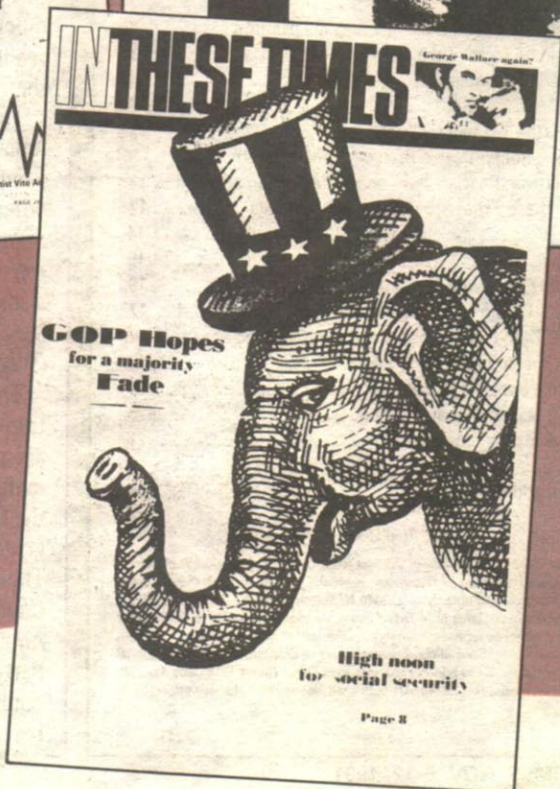
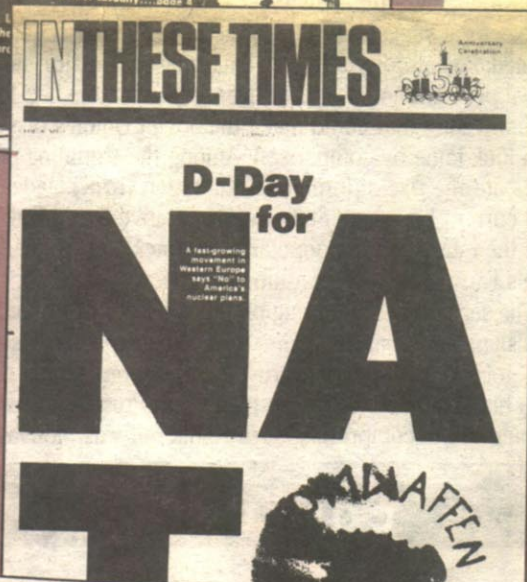
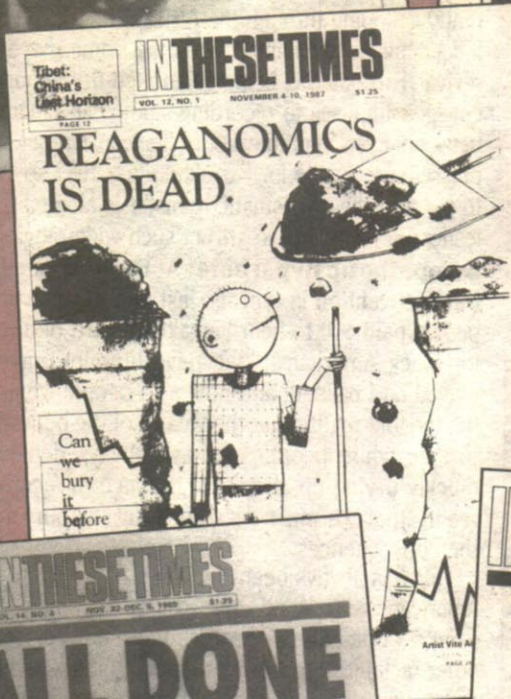
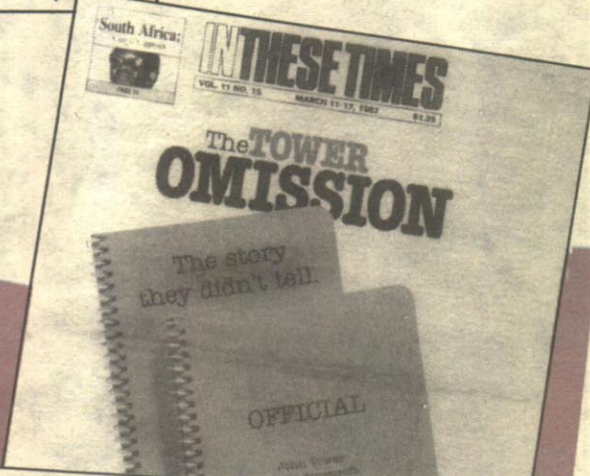
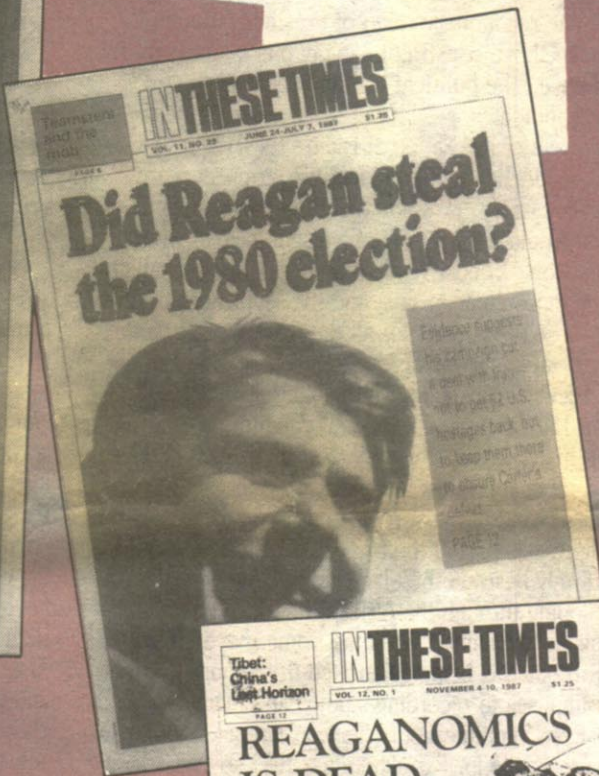
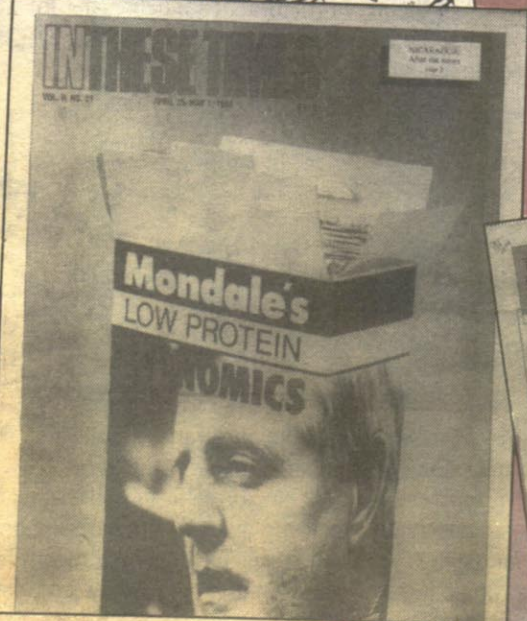
IN THESE TIMES

DL. 15, NO. 41

NOV. 6-12, 1991

\$2.00

15 YEARS



page
12



Then-Grand Wizard David Duke in a 1977 photo.

Duke, Farrakhan and tribal loyalties

By Salim Muwakkil

Having fanned the flames of racial resentment to fuel its electoral success, the Republican Party now is getting burned. Racial polarization is emerging as a major national problem and if current trends persist, the U.S. faces an unraveling that could make the Soviet Union's dissolution look tame by comparison. Among the troubling portents are the rise of former Ku Klux Klan (KKK) leader and current Louisiana State Representative David Duke and the mushrooming popularity of Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan and his notions of racial separation.

The second-place showing of Republican Duke in the Louisiana gubernatorial primary race has sparked a stampede of prominent GOPers rushing to denounce and disown him. Many pundits even claim that President Bush's signing of the compromise civil rights bill was motivated

by his administration's embarrassment over Duke's triumph. Bush's response not only is disingenuous—for Duke is campaigning on the same issues championed by the reigning Republican right—but also may prove to be politically costly. Duke's populist appeal is enhanced by the GOP establishment's rejection of his candidacy, and many pundits give him a good chance to win the November 16 gubernatorial runoff. If Duke wins without the support of the party hierarchy, the GOP will have lost credibility among those working-class whites it covets so badly.

Duke and Farrakhan: The possibility that a former grand wizard of the KKK may soon be a duly elected governor understandably is alarming to most African-Americans. However, many are not surprised. Black organizers from across the political spectrum have been warning about the rise of someone like Duke for many years.

"From our perspective, David Duke is not an aberration," explained Conrad Worrill, chairman of the National Black United Front (NBUF), a black nationalist organization. "Our experience in this country has taught us that equal treatment and justice are exceptions rather than the rule when it comes to the way white Americans treat black folks. Any reading of history will clearly show that white people tend to exhibit racist behavior unless they are strongly discouraged by social or political constraints." The reactionary reign of President Ronald Reagan released those constraints, many black analysts argue, and thus paved the political trail for a succession of Duke-like candidates.

For followers of the Nation of Islam's (NOI) Louis Farrakhan, Duke's election would be fulfilled prophecy. Farrakhan has long forecast an era when open racial antagonisms once again would dominate public discourse and white Americans would choose leaders according to their ability to embody those antagonisms. And the NOI leader has been pumping those predictions for all they're worth, attracting increasingly large crowds at locations across the country. In the last few months alone, Farrakhan has addressed more than 150,000 people in several different cities. Moreover, his views on white and Jewish leadership have found receptive audiences in venues once thought hostile to the NOI's brand of racial reductionism.

Serendipity has placed the 57-year-old Black Muslim minister firmly bestride the black nationalist revival currently galloping through the African-American community. Indeed, his acolytes insist he is the prime mover of that revival. Farrakhan is being celebrated from churches to college campuses to recording studios and many regions in between. Even Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas expressed a fondness for Farrakhan in a 1983 speech. It's safe to say that the charismatic minister is alone among black leaders in his ability to attract such wide-ranging support.

Sympathetic hyperbole: At the NOI's annual "Saviour's Day" convention in Chicago last month, an estimated 15,000 people paid \$10 to hear Farrakhan warn of dire days ahead for black Americans: "We have literally prayed and sang, played and partied, and now as a people we are faced with the terrible reality that the wealth of the benevolent, philanthropic white people we have always depended upon is quickly drying up and we stand face to face with a forced reality that we must do something for ourselves or suffer the consequences."

This has always been the NOI's basic pitch, but African-Americans generally dismissed it as hyperbole designed to paint a worst-case scenario. In these days of Duke and other racial insults, however, the argument receives a much more sympathetic hearing in the black community. Interestingly, in his past incarnation as an unrepentant racist, Duke also expressed admiration for Farrakhan and the NOI. Tom Metzger of the neo-Nazi group White Aryan Resistance (WAR) is one of Farrakhan's strongest supporters.

The dangers inherent in this increased racial polarization belatedly are beginning to trouble U.S. leaders and are provoking second thoughts about the race-baiting methods used to garner political support. And although the Republican Party has led the way in exploiting racial grievances, the Democrats certainly are not blameless. As Thomas and Mary Edsall point out in their new book, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights and Taxes on American Politics*, the liberal elites of the Democratic Party failed to counterattack when the Republican Party conflated racial politics with the "traditional values" debate of the '60s and early '70s, and thus they lost the

moral highground to the Republican right.

Values and racism: In *Chain Reaction*, the Edsalls write that "the raising of the 'traditional values' banner over such issues as law and order, the family, sexual conduct, joblessness, welfare fraud and patriotism was seen by liberals and blacks—with some accuracy—as an appeal to racist, narrow-minded, repressive or xenophobic instincts, designed to marshal support for reactionary social policies." The ability of the political right to link notions of traditional values with resistance to racial integration, affirmative action and expanded civil liberties enabled many rank-and-file white voters to camouflage their racist impulses in the language of morality, the Edsalls argue.

Duke uses the same code words pioneered in the 1968 presidential campaign of third-party candidate Alabama Gov. George Wallace. The Edsalls contend that Wallace "demonized an elite Democratic establishment, providing a desperately sought-after moral justification to those whites who saw themselves as victimized and displaced by the black struggle for civil rights and by broader social change."

Since Republican politicians find echoes of Duke's themes in their own rhetoric, it's much easier for them to condemn the Louisiana maverick for his KKK past than to condemn his campaign platform. Just as the code-word

INSIDE STORY

strategy has reaped political rewards for Duke, it also has provided the Republican Party with the votes it needed to transform the national electorate from a liberal majority to a conservative majority. With their successful use of racial politics, the Republicans have painted themselves into a corner. If they repudiate the use of code words, they may lose their electoral edge.

Polarization chic: But if the politics of polarization continue unabated, Republicans may continue to gain but the country will suffer irreparable damage. Minor explosions have occurred in isolated places—like Brooklyn's Crown Heights and Canarsie neighborhoods, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, Miami, Dallas, etc.—but the pace is quickening, and tribal loyalties are solidifying. Not only are working-class whites rejecting the goals of the civil rights consensus, but African-American youth increasingly are rejecting arguments that favor racial reconciliation. When New York Mayor David Dinkins urged an audience of black youths to "increase the peace" during four days of anti-Jewish violence in Crown Heights (see *In These Times*, Oct. 2), he was showered with missiles from the crowd.

Republican strategists have attempted to duck the consequences of their race-baiting tactics by aggressively recruiting accommodationist African-Americans to divert attention. The recently concluded imbroglio over the Thomas nomination is the latest example of this gambit. Conservatives fervently supported Thomas because, as a black conservative, he provided ideological legitimacy for their mean-spirited politics. But even that minor benefit was offset by Duke's electoral success. Rather than making honest attempts to ease racial tensions by coming to grips with the legacy of slavery and the reality of racist institutions, U.S. leadership seems content to seek no-fault solutions that merely postpone the needed national reckoning.

Racial antagonisms will worsen, polarization will harden and the prospects for a prosperous America will disappear. How's that for a catchy Republican campaign slogan? ☐

CONTENTS

Inside Story: Farrakhan and Duke take it to the extreme	2
Honda cashes in on tricks of the trade	3
The First Stone/In Person	4
In Short	6
Can Carey carry the Teamsters?	7
Sirens, Knuckles, Boots: Dennis Brutus returns to South Africa	8
Desperate on arrival: Russian Jews on the Palestinian question	11
The best of <i>In These Times</i> : 15 years of <i>ITT</i> editorials	12
Editorial	14
Letters	15
Viewpoints: Can Cuba swim in a capitalist ocean?	16
U.S. talking peace and selling weapons in Mideast	17
Life in the U.S.: Dem media morons and the Hill debacle	18
In Print: <i>The Alchemy of Race and Rights</i>	19
Feminist Backlash strikes back	19
In the Arts: Flip books' animated dialogues	20
The Marvel renaissance	21
Classifieds	23
Lincoln's return address	24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1991 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 15, No. 41) published Nov. 6, 1991, for newsstand sales Nov. 6-12, 1991.

A reader-supported newspaper

In These Times depends on its readers' generosity to help us keep publishing. More than 4,200 *In These Times* subscribers now contribute between \$5 and \$1,000 per year above the cost of their subscriptions. We welcome contributions of all amounts. Please send yours to the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60647. Your gifts to the Institute are tax-deductible.

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IN THE MIDST OF THE PITCHED BATTLES OVER THE confirmations of Clarence Thomas and Robert Gates, few noticed a modest and poorly-attended meeting of the House Ways and Means Oversight Committee that took place October 16. But the substance of that House hearing will probably have as much bearing on the nation's future as who serves as the next Supreme Court Justice or CIA Director.

The immediate issue of the hearing was whether Honda Motors, the fourth largest seller of automobiles in the U.S., is violating the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement. Honda is shipping cars across the border that it claims are made primarily in North America, but that are in fact made primarily in Japan. The broader issue raised by the case is whether the U.S. has become so economically subservient to Japan that it cannot even challenge the destruction of its own automobile industry.

Treasury runs scared: The facts of the case are these: on June 17, the *New York Times* reported that the U.S. Customs Department had found Honda in violation of the trade agreement. According to the agreement companies do not have to pay a 2.5 percent duty on goods shipped across the U.S.-Canadian border if the goods are at least 50 percent North American-made. Honda claimed that its Honda Civics, put together in Ontario and shipped to the U.S., were 62 percent North American-made, but Customs found that they contained only 38 percent North American content.

According to the Customs report, which was leaked to the *New York Times*, Honda owed the Treasury approximately \$200 a car, or about \$20 million. The report said that Customs, a branch of the Department of the Treasury, had found that "Honda has failed to meet the requirements for tariff-free treatment." Further, it said that Customs intended to "begin action immediately to collect \$20 million in duties for vehicles imported in 1989 and 1990." What was interesting was what happened next.

As the hearings last month revealed, Honda immediately secured a meeting with Deputy Treasury Secretary John Robson. The meeting was arranged by former Reagan administration Treasury official Peter J. Wallison, an attorney at the Washington law firm Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher, which represents Honda. After Robson's meeting with Honda executives, U.S. Customs Commissioner Carol Hallett, who signed the original report, sent a letter to the president of Honda Motors apologizing for the "unauthorized disclosure" and assuring him that the audit was still "incomplete."

One month later, the Senate Finance Committee summoned Hallett to Capitol Hill. Hallett refused to release the report on Honda and said that it would not be completed until the fall. However, William Inch, who supervised the Customs Department audit, told the committee nothing had happened since March to make him change his evaluation of Honda's imports.

Then, at the House oversight committee hearings, Robson and Hallett said that the final report would not be ready until February, suggesting that the Honda audit would suffer the same mysterious fate as the Reagan administration's report on global warm-



Honda running borders in land of the setting sun

ing or the Bush administration's study of high-definition television (see *In These Times*, Dec. 6, 1989). Rep. Sam Gibbons (D-FL) threatened to haul them onto the carpet if the report wasn't done by the end of the year, but administration officials have heard such warnings before.

Revolving door: The process itself, beginning with the *New York Times* leak, raised the specter of influence peddling and the revolving door between government and Washington's high-powered law firms. Wallison himself went from being counsel to the Treasury Department to a partnership in Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher, to counsel to President Ronald Reagan and then back to Gibson. In 1989, well-connected lobbyists for Japanese auto companies, led by Bush campaign operative James Lake, convinced Treasury to revoke a Customs ruling raising the duty on minivans and sport utility vehicles. The same thing appears to have happened here.

But something more ominous might also have happened. At the Senate hearings, both Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX) and Charles Grassley (R-IA) accused Treasury officials of being unwilling to punish Honda because they feared the Japanese would retaliate on the bond market by not purchasing the American securities needed to fund the national

debt. Stas Margaronis, the publisher of *SAM TRADE*, a newsletter devoted to U.S.-Japan trade issues, reports that one of his contacts in the Treasury Department said "In inter-agency meetings, we used to joke about [Treasury] bonds being a factor in trade decisions but we don't joke about it anymore."

And it isn't a joke. The Japanese threatened to retaliate in the bond market last winter during the acrimonious negotiations over opening their financial markets to American firms. On January 28, Makoto Utsumi, Japan's Vice Minister of Finance for International Affairs, threatened to create a "very, very harmful" situation by curbing credit if the U.S. applied sanctions against Japan. Utsumi's warning might still echo in Treasury's handling of Honda's illegal imports.

Dumping cars: The case has other significant implications for American interna-

Is the U.S. so economically subservient that it can't challenge the destruction of its auto industry?

tional economic policy. If Honda is using Canada as a port of entry for surreptitious imports into the U.S., it is even more likely that foreign companies will use Mexico for this purpose. In Mexico, foreign companies will be able to hire cheap labor to assemble imported parts into finished goods that can then be passed off as North American-made.

In response to Honda's actions and to other cases involving Suzuki and Toyota, Ford and Chrysler have demanded that the U.S. renegotiate the U.S.-Canada pact so that foreign imports must have 70 percent of their content made in North America in order to be tariff-free. (General Motors is asking for 60 percent.) But Canadian authorities are balking.

The U.S. Customs finding on Honda reinforces charges made by American auto and auto parts makers that Japanese auto companies—through their interlocking *keiretsu* relationships with other Japanese firms—are shutting out American suppliers. A University of Michigan study of Honda—universally acknowledged to be the most "American" of the Japanese companies—revealed that only 16 percent of the Honda Accord's parts and 20 percent of the Honda Civic's come from American-owned suppliers.

The effect on American jobs is enormous. Auto parts presently make up half of the U.S. trade deficit with Japan. Every time Americans buy Japanese cars, whether nominally made in the U.S. or not, they take jobs from American workers in the domestic parts industry. According to the U.S. General Accounting Office, which assumed conservatively that Japanese companies operating in the U.S. import half of their parts, these plants cost the country 36,000 jobs between 1988 and 1989.

The controversial Customs report contains other disquieting facts about Honda. When the Customs auditors added up the value of a Honda Civic, based on the price of its components, they estimated a cost of \$8,146 a car. But at Customs, Honda listed the cars as costing \$6,868 and then charged \$6,635 on the U.S. market. If this seems screwy, it is.

There are two possible explanations for the disparity. On the one hand, Honda may be dumping its Honda Civics on the U.S. market—selling them below cost in order to win market share against rival Japanese and American cars. Dumping is a violation of U.S. and international trade law.

On the other hand, Honda may be overcharging itself for components produced by sister companies in Japan, thus lowering its reported profits along with the taxes it owes the Internal Revenue Service. Last year, IRS officials accused foreign—and primarily—Japanese companies of siphoning off more than \$12 billion in taxes with this transfer price manipulation.

Either way, Honda deserves to have its wrist slapped by the U.S. government. But don't expect the Bush administration to do anything. Last year, U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills went to Paris to demand that France allow Honda to import its cars as "American," evading the quota on Japanese imports. And now, according to Margaronis, instead of collecting the duties that Honda owes, the Bush administration—which derided Anita Hill for taking a lie detector test—is giving polygraphs to Customs employees to discover who leaked the Honda report. □

By Joel Bleifuss

New world coming

As *In These Times* celebrates its 15th anniversary, I mark my fifth year writing for the paper.

At first I thought I'd observe the occasion by resurrecting in one column a number of pieces my editors had prohibited me from running. These stories included: a revolution in cosmetology; the inflatable breast transplant; that special special interest group, the Jewish Lesbian Daughters of Holocaust Survivors; and allegations of George Bush's extramarital dalliance. But those stories will remain on hold—untold.

Instead, I decided to sort through the stack of material that has accumulated on my desk and provide a brief rundown on a few stories that are harbingers of the changing times.

Upping the volume: Despite Federal Communications Commission attempts to shut him down, radio rebel Mbanna Kantako, formerly Dwayne Readus, is still putting out news and views on Black Liberation Radio. As I reported on April 18, 1990, Kantako runs an unsanctioned FM station from his living room in the John Hay Homes in Springfield, Ill. In August, Kantako was broadcasting a live telephone interview on the subject of white supremacy, when a bullet from a .357 Magnum smashed through his window and missed his head by inches. Within minutes he was back on the air, replaying the tape of the attack—which included the sound of the shot and the screams of wife Brenda who thought Kantako had been hit. The Springfield Police Department, a prime subject of the station's programming, did not investigate. Neither did any of Springfield's 15 media outlets. But Kantako responded by expanding Black Liberation Radio's broadcast schedule to 24 hours per day, seven days a week.

Scum floats to the top: At the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) they try to silence people in a kinder, gentler way. William Reilly, the corporate shill who heads the agency, has ruled that two of EPA's most visible dissidents, Hugh Kaufman and William Sanjour, may no longer be reimbursed by environmental groups for the cost of traveling on their own time to help those groups fight corporate polluters and their government allies. In his ban, Reilly cites the Ethics in Government Act, passed in 1990 to curb the endemic corruption of the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Rachel's Hazardous Waste News observed, "It is a perverse and self-serving mini-interpretation of the law by Reilly, a tacit admission that his character is petty, his understanding of grass-roots environment protection shallow and his appreciation of American democratic values lacking in depth and substance."

Now we know: The men who manage our national security have a time-tested alternative to silence—the lie. *Intelligence Newsletter* of Paris recently reported on last month's Seventh Annual National Convention of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers. At the gathering, a one-time top CIA official explained why his colleagues have repeatedly lied to Congress: "They simply couldn't trust Congress. An intelligence officer takes a [secrecy] oath for life. It doesn't end because you are in front of a group of congressmen, where leaks are known to occur."

Tenured liars: Nor does that oath end at the gates of academia. CIA "Officers in Residence" are currently teaching at about 12 universities. Though the CIA refuses to disclose the names of the universities that have cooperative arrangements with the CIA, it is known that CIA officers are currently teaching at the University of Texas at Austin, University of Montana at Missoula, Harvard University, George Washington University and Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

The CIA is not teaching at Seattle University. In September the priests who run that institution, responding to pressure from students, community residents, faculty members and fellow Jesuits, canceled their CIA Officer-in-Residence program. The professor-not-to-be is Tom Lauer who was all set to teach the history of Communist China this semester. Lauer has spent 20 years in the CIA working in both Western Europe and China. The CIA responded to the cancellation with this statement, "We regret this necessity and believe the opposition to Dr. Lauer is based on a seriously flawed perception of the CIA and its role in U.S. national security policy. . . . The CIA continues to have productive and mutually beneficial relationships with a number of colleges and universities as well as individual academic specialists. Although the situation at Seattle University is regrettable, we do not expect it to affect the broad range of contacts that the agency has with academic institutions and scholars."

Rubens' women: Still, the voice of the people will be heard.

**Magda Enriquez: Sandinista señorita**

By Suzanne Erfurth

Magda Enriquez Callejas started life as a protected Catholic schoolgirl in an upper-class Managuan family, but she soon strayed from the bourgeois fold. While going to college in the United States, she became a pacifist in response to the U.S. war in Vietnam. Later, in Nicaragua, she laid down the plowshares and asked the Sandinista leadership to give her combat training. This request followed her involvement in a non-violent attempt by a group of peasants to re-occupy farmland that belonged to

wealthy friends of her parents. The occupation failed, and 10 children died of insecticide poisoning when the owners tried to drive the group off the land by fumigating them.

She became a feminist when a fellow military officer tried to talk her out of bringing two female soldiers with her on a dangerous mission. "He told me, 'You know, with women involved there might be trouble.' And I said, 'Alonzo, what are you talking about? I am a woman.' And he said, 'Well, we don't look at you as a woman!' And I was so mad that day that I realized I had achieved gender consciousness, which I had never had before."

Parallel lines: Today, Enriquez, 45, lives in Philadelphia, is getting a journalism degree from Temple University and works as the secretary general of the Sandinista National Liberation Front's (FSLN) International Relations Department. She represents the FSLN as ambassador to the U.S. and Canadian governments, the United Nations and a number of political parties and movements. Being a full-time representative, full-time student and divorced "full-time mother of four" is "kind of hard," she says. "It's a tight schedule."

"My family comes from what we call in Nicaragua 'the historical parallels,'" she says. "My father comes from the conservative party and my mother's family comes from the liberal party. When I was a little girl I used to visit my father's uncle, Emiliano Chamorro, who was a well-known conservative leader in Nicaragua. He would ask me what I was going to be when I grew up, and I was supposed to say that I was going to be a conservative. I was supposed to wear green because that was the color of the conservative party. When I went to visit my mother's father it was the same story. They would ask exactly the same question, and, of course, I was supposed to say that I was going to be a liberal, and, of course, I was dressed in red. Until one day I got fed up with the whole thing and said I'm going to be Nicaraguan. It was getting a little bit out of hand."

Both sides of her family, however, were united in their hatred of Anastasio Somoza. One of her favorite uncles was a captain in Somoza's army and was killed in an unsuccessful coup attempt. "One way or the other, there was always talk about politics in my house, and there was a very strong anti-Somoza sentiment," she says. "But that does *not* mean that there was ever any consciousness as far as class, as far as poverty or injustice or anything like that, because this type of politics has nothing to do with that." Today, she says, her family supports her in the political choices she has made, although they don't necessarily agree with, or understand, them. (Of her five siblings, three live in the U.S., one in Canada and only one in Nicaragua.)

Liberation from theology: Enriquez says she grew up in a "very protected" environment. "I went to Catholic boarding schools," she says. "When I graduated high school in Nicaragua and started at the University of Nicaragua, my parents were afraid I was going to get involved in politics so they sent me to stay in the U.S. First they sent me to the Sacred Heart Academy in Philadelphia, then they wanted me to go to an all-girl private college, New Rochelle in New York. Finally I said, 'That's it. No more Catholic schools. No more all-girl schools.' I was Catholic; I continue to be a Catholic, but that was an overdose! So I went to Temple University."

"This was in the '60s. I was an economics student, but in my fourth year I decided that economics had nothing to do with real life and I switched my major to journalism. And that, for my parents, was not something to be forgiven. They sent me a telegram saying that if I switched careers I might as well forget about them because I would be dead to them. So I sent a telegram back saying '*Requiescat in pace. Amen*,' which in Latin means 'may he rest in peace.' Well, that was very easy to do. Of course, it meant that I did not get my monthly allowance anymore, so I had to work for the first time in my life," she laughs. "I started to work, contradictorily enough, in the YWCA as director of the United Service Organization branch in Philadelphia, and it was through my contact with all these kids who were going to Vietnam without the slightest idea of *why* they were going that I became a pacifist and very much involved in the fight against the Vietnam War."

Concerned about reports of increasing repression and poverty in Nicaragua, she returned there in 1971 and enrolled in the Autonomous University of Nicaragua in an attempt to learn more about her country.

She studied Nicaraguan history and philosophy, became interested in elementary education and eventually founded two elementary schools, one a bilingual-bicultural Spanish-English establishment and the other a special-education school serving children from rural areas, many of whom suffered from mental retardation as a result of malnutrition.

Women's work: Enriquez' involvement with the FSLN, at first as a non-combatant, began in 1976. "The FSLN was patient enough to accept me then as a pacifist on a political basis only. Of course, they knew that the situation in Nicaragua was going to teach me otherwise."

She became an organizer, first of workers, then women. The Nicaraguan women's movement, says Enriquez, was begun by men.

"We started working with women because the FSLN decided that we should organize women," she says. "I always kid my friends here in the women's movement about it. I say, 'Well, whether you like it or not, you have to accept that men were the first organizers of this movement in Nicaragua.' And not all my friends will accept it."

"The FSLN decided in 1976 that we should start organizing women, that women should participate as a social force in an organized way within the liberation struggle. But some of us were doing other things. I was working with the underground union movement in the San Antonio sugar mill, which is the largest one in Nicaragua. I felt demoted. I could not understand why on earth—if I was doing important work in the most important sugar mill in the country—should I now go and organize women? Many of us were asking what did we do wrong? We really didn't have any gender consciousness. But we were disciplined militants, so we went ahead and did it anyway."

The new movement began with a human rights emphasis, as a support group to mothers of the disappeared, says Enriquez. But it soon started to pick up on other issues. "In the neighborhoods, for example, women started organizing to defend themselves from the National Guard, and simply to find a chance for survival, because food was getting scarce, water and electricity were being limited. The movement rapidly became a true women's movement, and, in time, it grew beyond our capacity for organizing."

"Sometimes we heard about it on the radio, in places where we, the organizers, had never even visited. Women were organizing themselves about the issues that concerned them the most." It was an "extraordinary learning experience," says Enriquez. "We learned how to overcome fear; we learned that we could be in leadership positions and that people listened to us; and at the same time the Nicaraguan people also learned what we as women were capable of doing. For example, during the final offensive against Somoza nobody thought twice about the capacity of Dora Maria Tellez to be military commander of the Sandinistas' Western Front, which was one of the strongest fronts in the struggle."

Lost time: Enriquez is convinced the FSLN will win the 1996 elections. "The Nicaraguan people will have learned that the only party that defends the interests of the people is the FSLN." It is an election she will take part in. In two years, after getting her degree, she will return to Nicaragua to live.

Enriquez is perplexed by a sense of helplessness and pessimism about Nicaragua that she sometimes feels from people in the United States. "People are still talking about why we lost the election!" She points out that the Sandinista revolution "is very much in place because it's defended by the constitution." Enriquez says she was astonished on a recent speaking tour when a woman in the audience stood up and told her that the American solidarity movement had lost all hope when the Sandinistas lost the elections in March. "The woman said, 'You were our last hope,' and I said, 'Wait a minute: *you are our hope!*'"

Suzanne Erfurth is a writer based in Chicago.

Unnoticed by the intelligence community, a new movement has sprung up to challenge some of our current cultural assumptions. "Fat liberation is a radical movement working to end the oppression of fat women," writes Judith Stein, co-founder of Boston Area Fat Liberation. "Fat liberation activists understand that fat oppression is inextricably linked to sexism. We see the need for change at the radical (root) level of how Western patriarchy tries to constrain, contain, and restrain women's strength."

Stein examines the topic in a letter to the editor of *Sojourner: The Women's Forum*. "Fat liberation opposes all forms of weight-loss diets," Stein writes, explaining that she and her fat friends are not to be confused with those involved in the "size acceptance movement." This movement, writes Stein, "is a very different thing" and is "best represented" by the NAAFA (National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance). "The NAAFA," she says, is "liberal at best," as it fails to take "an organizational position against diets or against killer weight-loss surgeries."

Deep, deep ecology: A few of you politically incorrect types might have sniggered at the above item on our superlatively sized sisters in struggle. There may come a day when you wipe that smile off your face—but be sure to wash your hand first. According to the newsletter of the Aprovecho Institute of Cottage Grove, Oregon, TP is not PC.

One person who does not use toilet paper is Ianto, an Aprovecho worker dedicated to the institute's mandate to "research and promote sustainable alternatives to the wastefulness of industrial consumerism." Ianto proposes that we take our cue from the 700 million people in India and forgo toilet paper. He writes, "When you live in timber country—virtually a war zone now over the fate of the remaining ancient forests—sooner or later you take a look at your own part in exterminating the trees." He advocates substituting a hand and water for a roll of toilet paper. In the next issue of his newsletter, comments from grateful readers poured in.

Joachim Schulz writes from Oregon: "Thank you for firing up the toilet paper debate. We need it. I agree, we shouldn't be wiping out entire forests in order to wipe our behinds. So, what can we do? Should we use our hands? What about using Latex gloves? One set could last quite some time."

Wall Eubanks writes from Myrtle Point, Ore., "I wonder if you ever tried thimbleberry leaves as a substitute."

Portia Foster writes from Yachats, Ore., "I have a problem with the water solution to TP. That may work for men and bowel movements but I find the need for something to dry me after urinating. We used to use old newspapers, etc. when we lived overseas. I don't buy many newspapers either and may quit altogether—but occasionally they bring important local information. We have also had a water shortage so I work on that, too."

Al White writes from San Clemente, Calif.: "It's about time we accelerated our campaign against the wastefulness and industrialized countries' plumbing and toilet habits. Let's also attack the habit of sitting on a john. Squatting or crouching is not only the traditional way for humans to defecate, it is way and above the best way."

It is also God's way. Billo writes from Alabama, "Before there were toilets, people would squat, or 'cover their feet' as the Bible so subtly refers to the task."

Official truths: The job of the corporate-controlled press is to ... Finish this sentence any way you see fit, but first consider *Newsweek's* cover story last week on the nation's continuing depression: "What recovery? The bite on the middle class."

This article convinced me that what this country could use is a class war. The corporate classes are already mounting their defense.

One of their barricades is being manned by *Newsweek* reporter Rich Thomas. Ignoring the fact that the Reagan-Bush trickle-down tax policy favored the rich and shifted their tax burden onto everyone else, Thomas examines the financial situation of middle-class workers. He thinks they have done just fine. "Of course, rich Americans have done even better," he writes. "But any claim that the middle class is doing poorly simply because the rich are doing better is based on jealousy, not facts. For one thing, the money didn't all go to the rich; much of it went into the environment. Americans have demanded cleaner air and water, purer foods and the removal of toxic wastes, among other measures. The vast investment by business and government in redesigned cars and billion-dollar scrubbers for utility smokestacks may contribute nothing to what is measured as personal income in the United States, but it has improved our quality of life."

Who needs toilet paper?

If you can't beat 'em, use 'em

Administration officials and Senate Republicans were appalled by Anita Hill's brazen attempt at deceit when she took a lie detector test to show that she was not fabricating charges of sexual harassment against her former employer, Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. Polygraphs, they said, are not admissible in a court of law. No, the Thomas hearings weren't being conducted in open court—but so what? Such trickery, they bellowed, would not be tolerated by the Senate. But the U.S. Customs Service, that's a different story. Someone in Customs leaked a sensitive report on Honda to the *New York Times* (see story page 3). The report said Honda was bilking the U.S. government out of millions of dollars in tax revenues by misrepresenting some of its imports. To make a long story short, Honda got mad and Customs ended up apologizing for the leak. And now Customs officials want to know who slipped the report to the press. And they want to know the truth. So they're using polygraphs. What the heck? Customs offices aren't courtrooms.

Get the picture?

It must be that women simply don't photograph as well as men. Maybe that would explain the print media's general reluctance to place pictures of women on the front pages of newspapers. Between August 15 and September 15 of this year, women showed up in only 11 percent of the page-one photos of the *New York Times*, and in only 13 percent of those in the *Washington Post*, according to media watchdog group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR). In fact, the women must have looked so bad in the pictures the *Times* had, that the paper was forced to run a photo of male tennis pro Boris Becker with a story on women's tennis. *USA Today* came out way ahead of the others by putting women on page one 30 percent of the time. Maybe the ladies look better in color. In all three papers women who were not sports or entertainment figures were usually wives, daughters or mothers of prominent men.

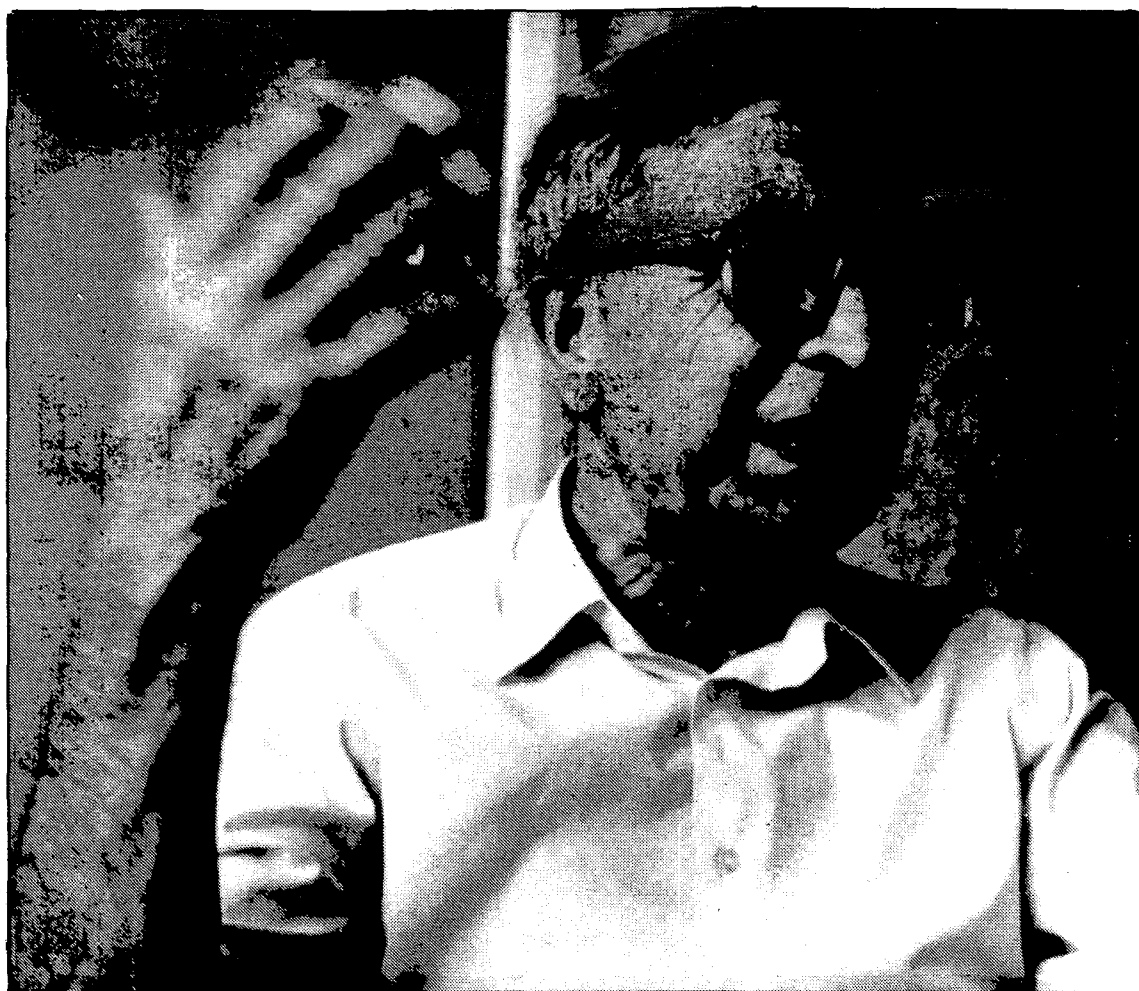
Be a sport

Since there's no room for women on the front pages of the nation's newspapers, are they being bumped to the back of the book? Not a chance. Quoting a four-month survey by the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles, FAIR reports that women barely rate a mention on the sports pages. Between the months of July and September 1990, stories about women showed up on the sports pages 4.4 percent of the time in *USA Today*, 3.9 percent of the time in the *Boston Globe*, 3.3 percent of the time in the *Orange County Register* and a dismal 2.4 percent of the time in the *Dallas Morning News*. FAIR notes that this sad showing occurred during the height of the golf and tennis seasons. Even excluding all baseball and football stories, FAIR reports, male-only stories outnumbered female-only stories 8.7 to one.

Oliver's army

Oliver North is back in our living rooms, wisecracking to the cheers of the *Donahue* studio audience and opining for the armchair analysts who watch late-night news programs. Right now he's hawking his new book, *Under Fire*. But don't believe that the cuddly colonel has traded in behind-the-scenes politicking and dirty dealing in favor of a typewriter and a tweed jacket with elbow patches. This month, *Harper's* magazine reprinted a letter to North from California Democratic Congressman Pete Stark. Stark was responding to a direct-mail solicitation he received this summer from North's Freedom Alliance. In it North asked supporters to send money and to sign a petition condemning the appointment of liberal California Democrat Ron Dellums to the U.S. House Select Committee on Intelligence. North's literature called Dellums an "incredible security risk" and a "very dangerous appointment." In part, Stark wrote: "I find it incredible that anyone who would conspire to sell sophisticated weapons systems to the Ayatollah and the Iranian regime would even consider making such charges... For you to stoop to making such inflammatory, groundless attacks for the purposes of squeezing direct-mail dollars from a vulnerable mailing list is sick and pathetic. You ought to be ashamed." Lately North has been making the groundless assertion that he loves the Constitution to get people to buy his book. He's also been saying that he's more interested in "being a husband and father" than he is in politics. To answer this, we'll have to borrow one more line from Congressman Stark's letter. "Frankly, Colonel," he wrote, "you're full of shit."

IN SHORT



Despite the collapse of communism, 77-year-old Michael Balchin hawks the CPGB paper on the same corner each week.

An old red keeps the faith

ELTHAM, ENGLAND—Michael Balchin has been hawking the same newspaper in the same spot every Saturday for 18 years.

"I reckon I'm doing all right if I sell eight each time," the 77-year-old Balchin says.

It might be the message, not the messenger. In this quiet Tory suburb of London, the slender, bespectacled man with turquoise eyes and wispy gray hair is the sole seller of the *Morning Star*, the official organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB).

"*Morning Star! Morning Star!*" the veteran red cries. Customers are rare.

"Some people will pause to look at the headlines," Balchin says. "That's why I think a good headline is important. But mostly people just walk by and don't stop."

The unpopularity of his cause, however, hasn't stayed Balchin from his appointed rounds. Week after week, he heads for Eltham's High Street, the town's main shopping area, with 16 copies of the London-published *Morning Star*, each with a blood-red star on the nameplate.

He sells the paper at 40 pence a copy in front of the Eltham Co-op store. As a co-op member, Balchin is welcome as a shopper—but not as a newspaper vendor.

"The co-op people don't like me being there," Balchin says. The store manager once called the police to get Balchin removed. Officers didn't show and Balchin stayed.

While millions are happy about

the collapse of communism, Balchin says the theory is still sound. "It was the practice that was wrong—the Communist Party attracted corrupt, unprincipled careerists," says Balchin. Among them, he adds, are Russian President Boris Yeltsin, ex-East German leader Erich Honecker and the late Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

"It was all too easy for purely selfish people like them to make the grade," says Balchin. Something should have been done to check "the corruption which provided superior housing, big cars and better food for the elite," he adds.

Still, Balchin believes the pre-Gorbachov Soviet Union "represented the best hope for working people all over the world."

Few Britons would agree. But for 55 years, Balchin has stepped to a different drummer in this resolutely anti-communist kingdom. The old Communist paper *Daily Worker* attracted him to the British party; he joined on May Day 1936. Balchin sold the *Daily Worker* before it became the *Morning Star* in 1966.

But as party membership declined, so has *Morning Star* readership. Balchin says the paper has fewer than 10,000 subscribers.

Communist popularity peaked in Britain just after World War II when it had some 50,000 members and two Communists in Parliament. "Everybody appreciated the achievements of the Red Army in defeating Hitler," Balchin says. "It was that sort of thing that gave the party prestige. We thought the party was going somewhere." Membership dwindled during the Cold War. The two Com-

munist MPs lost their seats, and no Communist has been elected since.

In the early '80s, the CPGB split. It and two smaller factions claim fewer than 7,000 members, total. Balchin's local CPGB branch meets only occasionally.

But despite hard times for Communism, Balchin has happy memories of youthful party days: collecting food and money for antifascists in the Spanish Civil War, a 1936 ride on a Paris subway train "with the whole carriage singing the Internationale."

Balchin argues that anti-Communist Russians or Eastern Europeans will soon become disenchanted with Western-style capitalism. "East Germans are finding out that, along with a flood of goodies from the West, they're getting unemployment, higher prices, vandalism and gang warfare," he says. "Look at all those Nazi skinhead groups."

He illustrates his point with a quote from Sir Robert Walpole, an 18th-century British prime minister, saying it applies to those applauding the ruin of Communism: "They are ringing the bells now. Soon they will be ringing their hands."

"Ultimately, common sense and justice will change capitalism," he adds. "The staggering wealth of some people compared to the poverty of the girl I saw this morning at Old Street station begging for coppers is so obscene and so obviously the consequence of the capitalist system that I don't need to read Marx or Lenin to be convinced that society ought to be organized differently."

—Berry Craig

By David Moberg

STARTING THIS WEEK, THE 1.6 MILLION MEMBERS of the Teamsters union will have an opportunity unique in the union's checkered 88-year history: they will directly elect their top officers by secret, mail-in ballots.

Unfortunately, candidates from all three major slates agree, the majority of union members either remain unaware of the election, don't care what happens or are so cynical about the prospects for change that they probably won't vote.

But despite the lukewarm response from the majority, an intense minority of disgruntled rank-and-file Teamsters are burning up their trucks' citizen band radio waves and passionately leafletting the widely dispersed loading docks, truck barns, warehouses, offices and factories where Teamsters work. They feel—with good reason—that there is a strong chance to elect as Teamsters president Long Island, New York, United Parcel Service local president Ron Carey, a reform candidate pledged to cleaning up the union, preserving newly won democracy, and restoring aggressive bargaining.

Whether Carey wins or not, Teamsters have already won. The union has gone from being one of the most fearsomely autocratic to one of the more democratic unions.

The old guard: Both of the other contending slates, one headed by International Vice President R. V. Durham and the other headed by Walter Shea, formerly a powerful union presidential aide, are filled primarily with different factions of the old guard leadership. Six initial Durham candidates were forced off by government corruption charges or damaging publicity, and federal overseers have charged three current candidates with corruption or mob ties. Eastern conference boss Joseph Trerotola resigned from the Shea slate recently after he was charged with failing to investigate mob influence under his jurisdiction.

Nearly half of Durham's reported campaign funding comes from slate members and contributions of \$10,000 to \$30,000 apiece from discredited or discharged top union officers. Almost all of these officers—like most of the Shea slate—made more than \$100,000 (and up to \$576,453) in 1990, usually from multiple salaries. Carey's campaign has hit hard on corruption and fat cat salaries, blaming them for the union's declining effectiveness.

Yet both slates—especially Durham's—contend they are reformers fighting to transform and strengthen the union. And each has tried to stick the feared "old guard" label on the other.

Despite the political deathbed conversions of some old guardsmen to reformist religion, the transformation of the Teamsters is incomplete and precarious: it was brought about through the 1989 settlement of a federal racketeering lawsuit. A federal judge and a trio of court-appointed officers have enforced the settlement and have charged 135 individuals with misconduct, removing from office three-fourths of those whose cases are concluded.

The government's action would have had far less effect had it not been for a 15-year fight for democracy and better contracts by the rank-and-file reform group, Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). TDU supports Carey, but even if he doesn't win, chief organizer Ken Paff concluded that "Our program is winning."



Teamsters presidential candidate Ron Carey is promising to clean up the union, preserve democracy and restore aggressive bargaining.

Will the Teamsters vote to 'get rid of the bums'?

Durham's slate, which received the most delegate votes at the June Teamsters convention, claims a lead; Shea's camp calls the race a toss-up. A poll for Carey in mid-October showed him leading the field among "highly likely" voters with 29 percent, followed by Durham with 13 percent and Shea with 7 percent. Still, that leaves half of the likely voters—roughly 40 percent of those eligible—undecided. There is general agreement that Carey is strong among UPS workers, freight drivers and warehouse grocery workers, the traditional core of the union.

LABOR

Carey has relied primarily on rank-and-file volunteers and reform groups like TDU, as well as a blitzkrieg of worksite leafletting and handshaking. Election officer Michael Holland has opened up worksites and union halls to equal campaigning by all candidates in an unprecedented fashion.

The campaigns of both Durham and Shea rely much more heavily on union stewards and business agents, who are expected to distribute literature and turn out their core supporters. In many cases, members don't even know or, worse yet, hate their business agents, whom they see as front-line representatives of a privileged, unresponsive old guard, greatly limiting the power of this strategy. But as Carey vice presidential candidate Leroy Ellis observed, nearly every business agent can count on support from at least five or six buddies he has favored.

Carey hits a strong populist chord against official corruption, high living and disregard for the members, stressing his identification with the rank and file. The Shea slate makes traditional bread and butter union promises: strikes to win a minimum of \$10 an hour for all Teamsters, supplementary unemployment benefits and better pensions. Durham em-

phasizes his local union record more than his international union role and strives to bolster his reform credentials.

Image making: Free advertising for all candidates has enlivened the historically boring, unread *Teamster* magazine. Carey's campaign has portrayed Durham as arm-in-arm with gangsters and jailbirds and his slate as pigs feeding at the members' dues trough. Durham's campaign, conveying a desperate edge, has escalated the scale and ferocity of its attack on Carey, portraying him as a scab, implying wrongdoing when Carey testified under immunity in the case of a dishonest former local official, attacking Carey as a Republican (an irony coming from a union establishment that has backed Republican presidential candidates since the '60s) and claiming Carey's local Health and Welfare Fund is about to collapse. Out in the field, Durham supporters have said Carey will be on strike all the time, bankrupting their employers, and will do away with seniority. Shea has portrayed Durham as a liar who is insensitive to women's issues (only the Durham slate has no woman candidate), and a lapdog of outgoing president William McCarthy.

Carey campaigners think most members dismiss the attacks on him as laughable lies but the barrage may plant some doubts, divert time to deny them and turn off some members from the election altogether. Unlike Durham's shrill attacks, Carey's barbs have kept a humorous edge. Their latest rebuttal features National Enquirer-style "amazing facts" intermingled with charges against Carey. The message is: if you believe Elvis is still alive, you'll believe Durham.

More seriously, Carey answers the charges by saying his local's fund is solid; he testified under immunity on his lawyer's advice despite his wishes; he once voted Republican but now regrets it; and he never scabbed. Carey countered the scab charge, for which

Durham's camp has offered no proof, with a \$15 million lawsuit. Even if Carey had done what Durham charged—delivered packages independently for department stores in 1962 when UPS was on strike—it would not have constituted scabbing; it wouldn't have helped UPS.

"The key issue is this: believing that there can be change," says TDU co-chair Dan Campbell. "You get skepticism [from members] that the union can't be changed, that their vote won't count. We're fighting skepticism, not Durham, and a reluctance to participate fostered by the system."

Carey supporters report a wide range of member reactions as they campaign. Many Teamsters say they haven't even heard of the election. Others won't listen to anything about the union. Some fear retaliation despite the painstaking government supervision. And many care only for the immediate paycheck and will submit to whatever it takes to hold their jobs. "They fear if they're wavemakers like us they'll lose their jobs," says Slobodan Golubovic, a 21-year Teamster fired four times in the past year in retaliation for his pro-Carey work. Some simply fear the unknown. Others, ironically, fear more militancy and employer retaliation.

Carey claims that "all Durham is looking for [in the personal attacks on Carey] is to drive people into apathy. A lot of people say there's nothing we can do. I learn every day how this membership has been beat up, how members haven't gotten simple basic things members are entitled to. We've got to clean the union up: that's the first priority—get rid of the bums, let people know officials must be honest and hardworking. I've promised members they'll get a fair shake, that they won't be ashamed of their union, that contracts won't be compromised by officers being messenger boys from the corporations. Members have a choice now that they never had and that the people who are there [in office] didn't want to give to them."

Mail polls will close December 10. Then we'll know how many Teamsters cared enough to make a choice and, to a lesser degree, how many wanted fundamental change. □

On July 30, 1966, Dennis Brutus, a 41-year-old anti-apartheid activist was exiled from South Africa after 18 months of political imprisonment and a year of house arrest. An English teacher and sports organizer, he began his anti-apartheid activities in the early '60s. He founded the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC), an organization that forced South Africa from Olympic competition during the '60s, '70s and '80s.

SOUTH AFRICA

In 1964, he was jailed in the notorious Robben Island prison along with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others. His Robben Island term came after he had already been jailed once and had escaped to Mozambique. He was subsequently returned to South Africa by Mozambique's secret police and was shot in downtown Johannesburg as he attempted to flee his South African captors.

Upon his exile, Brutus spent three years in London, where he continued to organize against apartheid, even interrupting the Wimbledon tennis tournament in a protest against South African tennis players. The author of 11 books of poetry came to the U.S. in 1969, where he continues to write, teach and organize.

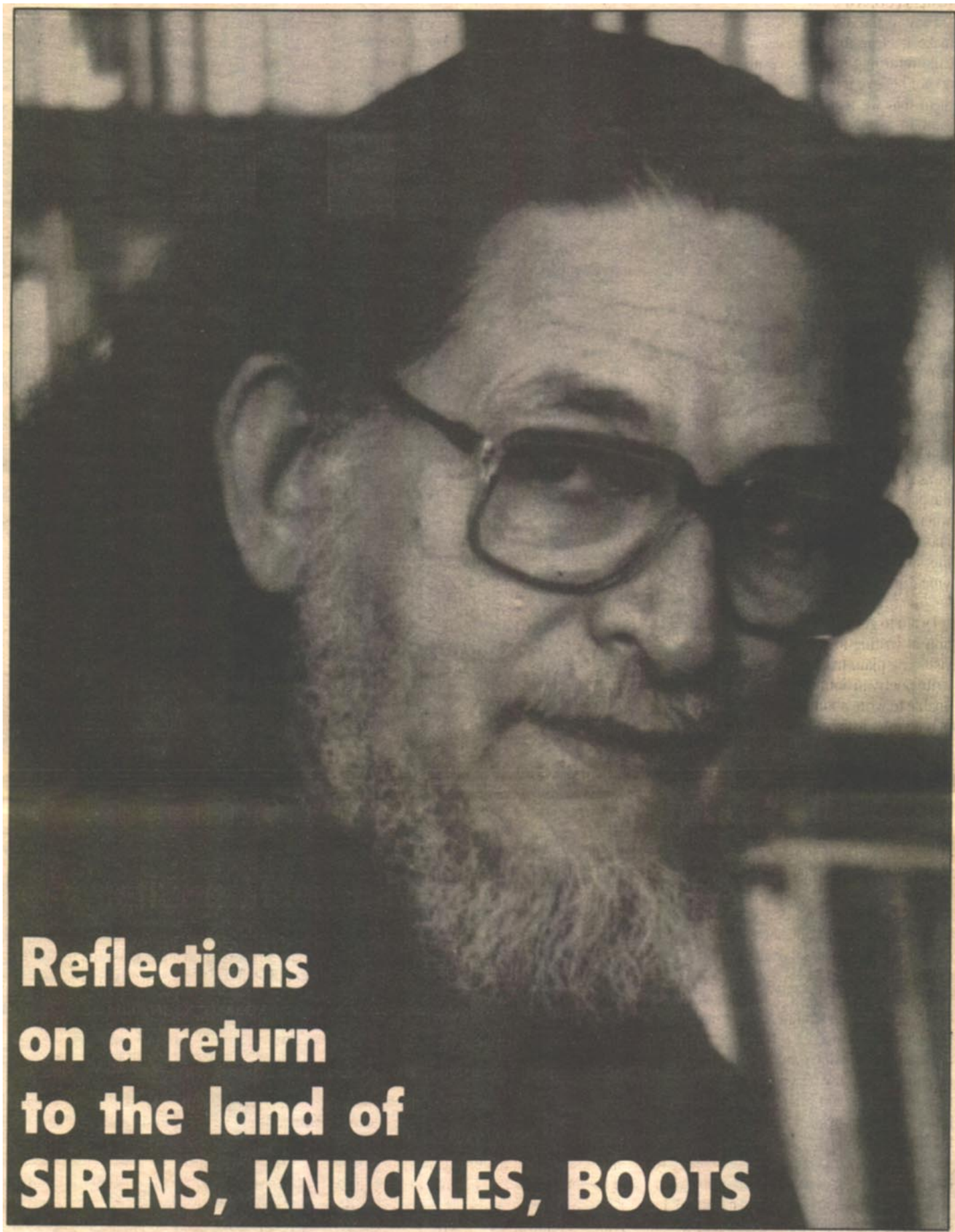
Brutus has held teaching positions at Northwestern University, Amherst College, Dartmouth, the University of Texas, Swarthmore, and other major universities in the U.S. and abroad. Most recently, he chaired the Department of Black Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, where he is tenured.

In addition to numerous literary awards, Brutus has received appointments to a number of United Nations-related athletic and cultural organizations and conferences. When his U.S. employment visa expired in 1981, he was forced to initiate a three-year-long battle with the Immigration and Naturalization Service that ended when he gained political asylum in the United States.

Protected by that status, Brutus returned home this past July—25 years after his deportation—hoping to have his citizenship reinstated. Instead, issued a 30-day "visitor" visa and technically subject to arrest at any time, he found that he was only a tourist in his homeland, despite proclamations of a new South Africa.

Now 66 years old, Dennis Brutus remains an exile. The following story is drawn from journal entries written during Brutus' recent visit and from recollections compiled after his return to the U.S.

The uniformed attendants brought the stretcher to me. They took one look at me, took the stretcher back to their ambulance and drove off. I asked the plain-clothes police officer above me why they had gone. He explained that the ambulance was for whites only.



Reflections on a return to the land of SIRENS, KNUCKLES, BOOTS

By Dennis Brutus

THE BRITISH AIRWAYS 747 BEGINS A BUMPY descent through broken clouds to Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport. I am tense, even though not fully awake after the long flight from Heathrow. Traveling on a refugee travel document, I'm uncertain of my reception by the immigration officials; uncertain of how I will react after 25 years of exile; uncertain whether media people will be there and what I will want to say to them.

Suddenly, in the bright morning sunlight, the wide landscape appears below and I realize that this airport is truly unique. Of all the hundreds of airports I have landed at, there is not one like this. Nowhere else would you see those great flat-topped mounds of dirt dominating the landscape.

Now one flashes by: dirty ochre, dirty yellow, muddy white, fall brown—the great mounds of dirt are slag heaps excavated from the gold mines that run for miles and miles under the very foundations of Johannesburg's skyscrapers.

When the light is at the right angle, the mounds have a golden hue that says to me: wealth and oppression, the essential twin features of South African society. Gold, diamonds and coal are the source of the country's prosperity. Black labor in the mines was the energy that created vast wealth at an untold cost of human suffering. There is no way to think of South Africa without thinking simultaneously of those two elements: great wealth—great deprivation. To make the mining enterprise ever more profitable, people were deprived of their basic rights and humanity. Made to labor in the dark, to pro-

duce wealth. As long as this system exists, so long I will have these ambivalent feelings about this nation.

We land and take the bus to the terminal. Surprisingly there are no jetways yet. I labor with my bags and get in line at immigration. There is a long and absurd delay at the immigration desk. It may have been deliberate or accidental. Ultimately, the problem becomes one of paying for a permit. And it must be done in South African currency. This entails finding someone at British Airways who will convert sterling to rands.

After this, I am courteously assisted to collect my baggage and to exit through customs. Some of the media people have already given up and left. Others have been asking anxious questions about whether I am being detained. Finally, I am required to deal with three groups of questioners at the same time:

those from the media, those from sport, and those from the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW).

I say to the media that it is important to make it clear that I have not come as an exile returning to a free country, because I do not believe that South Africa is free. I tell them that we have a long way to go and I want to avoid giving the false impression that I am celebrating. I cannot do that until the country is free.

After the informal press conference and a stop at an airport coffee shop, the writers take me off to the COSAW office in Johannesburg. I am disoriented and unfocused. There are already questions about what my own views are and how they coincide with those of COSAW. There are always deep ideological lines in South Africa. The emphasis on these lines over the years has become much stronger.

We drive into Johannesburg. We drive through Ferreira Town. We drive past the Magistrate's Court. At the corner of Marshall and West streets we pass the place where I was shot by the secret police. Then we pass the place outside the Anglo-American Towers where I fell and lay bleeding on the sidewalk. I point out the spot. Some of the people know the story; some are hearing it for the first time.

◇ ◇ ◇

I want to get on to the rather difficult question of writing in the context of my recent visit. The plain truth is that I was unable to write poetry in South Africa, and I have been unable to write about it since my return. The perceptions from my trip are so numerous, so complex and so mixed that I've been unable to unify them into a poetic statement.

So, what are some of these fragmented literary images, perceptions and impulses? Of course, there's the return itself. I marvel at the return. There was a time when return would have been inconceivable, though there was always the hope.

During my return, I went to visit my boyhood home in Port Elizabeth. It has been converted into a body repair shop. The neighborhood that I grew up in is now all-white. Though the "Group Areas Act" has been repealed, the community of my childhood is now closed to me. It is a well-documented fact that empty schools in white neighborhoods have been destroyed, rather than being opened to non-white (usually black) children who so desperately need them.

As I traveled on the bus between Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, I was impressed with all of the construction that has gone on since I left. High rises dominate the horizons of the major cities. The National Road is fully comparable to the best of the interstate highways in the U.S.

Yet, on this National Road, I viewed things that troubled me terribly. Shantytowns and squatter camps have grown up along this modern thruway. These camps are characterized by tin-roofed shacks cobbled together with whatever materials are available. Even as you whisk along the highway, you can see how cramped and filthy the places are.

◇ ◇ ◇

One afternoon, for the first time, I visited the grave of my mother who died and was buried while I was in prison on Robben Island. Nearby was the grey bulk of the prison called "Rooi Hel" (Red Hell). In 1965, I was released from there to go under house arrest, so that my home could be my prison.

Nearby Rooi Hel are segregated townships

for white workers. In the distance are shanties of those who came from the townships of New Brighton and Kwazakele. The area has been subdivided. There is now a new city called Ibhayi which has its own city council. The town clerk is white though the city's inhabitants are black. All the foul legacy of apartheid still presses with full weight on both black and white.

So while my old neighborhood, taken over by whites, has thrived, the situation for the black majority has seriously deteriorated in the past quarter century. Even if blacks and other non-whites were allowed to settle freely, without intimidation and interference, only about 1 percent could financially afford to do so.

A few days before my departure, while waiting to meet someone at the COSAW offices, I found myself with some loose time in Johannesburg. Vivian Reddier of *City Press* had earlier suggested to me that we reconstruct the circumstances of my shooting in 1963, so I thought I'd use the time to do that.

I retraced my steps from where I had escaped from the custody of the secret police, where I'd run along Marshall Street to the corner of Marshall and West, where I had

The killings by hit squads are increasing. These are not random instances of tribal violence but intentional provocations meant to disrupt the move toward democracy.

been shot in the back and then run down West Street, turning onto Main Street where I collapsed and lay bleeding on the sidewalk, gazing up at the Anglo-American headquarters.

I walked it in bright sunlight, unlike that Tuesday afternoon in September 1963 round about 5 o'clock. I remembered nothing of the pain or the anxiety. Indeed, to me, the whole experience was curiously flat. I recalled the event, but I did not re-experience it. At the same time I knew this was something that I needed to do—to confront the experience once again.

I remembered that I didn't know that I had what the doctors in the operating room at Coronation Hospital later called a "through and through wound." As I lay on the sidewalk, I'd taken my handkerchief out in an effort to plug the hole in my chest from which the blood was flowing in a fairly strong stream. I remember a sense of discomfort, and I reached under the small of my back to try to find out the cause of my discomfort.

I looked at my hand and it was dripping blood. It was then I realized that I had more than one bullet wound. But I'm not sure that I made the connection that both wounds came from the same bullet. I think that if I had, I would have been terrified. It's just as well that I didn't because there's no telling how much I may have panicked. But it is true that it dawned on me very clearly that I might die right there on the sidewalk. At that point, I asked for a priest.

I must now make a confession. This was a somewhat cynical request. It is true that as a Catholic it made sense for me to ask for a priest. I was a baptized and fairly fervent—if liberated—Catholic. But it is also true that it seemed to me that this was one way to ensure that I would receive medical

attention. And that, in this way, I would achieve what it was that I'd been attempting anyway—in the escape attempt—to ensure the knowledge that I was back in South Africa, having been virtually kidnapped from Mozambique.

Also, I think, it seems to me that it is reasonable to assume that whatever else Afrikaners might be—and they pretty much ran the secret police—they claimed to be a God-fearing, church-going people for whom a request for a priest would be something very difficult to refuse. As I recall, a priest did, in fact, come. I'm not certain, but I think that it was a Franciscan in a habit named Father Nicholas, who may have been attached to Witwatersrand University.

As I remember him, he talked briefly, and as he left he said, in a rather low voice, "courage"—the French pronunciation. Which is nice to hear, but I was struck by the fact that this was an attempt to communicate with me in a way that was not intelligible to my guards nearby. It struck me as a rather pathetic attempt to indicate support without in any way endangering himself. At least, that's how it struck me then; and possibly I still think that.

Of all of that experience, if I am to be honest, I most remember tears streaming down my face. I remember Godfrey Pitje, a college friend who'd just happened to be passing by, saying "Be a man" or something of that sort. The tears may have been a release of tension after the trauma. But I was at a point I think—and I was really very conscious of myself as well as how I was being seen by others—that I was justified in demanding pity, or at least evoking deep concern from bystanders who were being shooed from the scene both by the secret police and uniformed police.

I may as well add one little incident that I learned about subsequently in the newspapers. There had been a man in one of the offices of the Anglo-American Corporation who, from his window high up, had seen the shooting episode and a man lying on the pavement. He phoned for an ambulance. He couldn't have known it was a shooting by the police because it took place some distance away.

So the office worker phoned for an ambulance and the ambulance did come. The uniformed attendants brought out the stretcher to me. They took one look at me and took their stretcher back to their ambulance and drove off.

I asked the plain-clothes police officer above me why they had gone. He explained that the ambulance was for whites only. We wouldn't want the attendants to lose their jobs for breaking the rules now, would we? So we had to wait for a colored or non-white ambulance. There is a letter in a Johannesburg newspaper that documents this incident. I believe that the author of the letter expressed concern of the inhumanity of leaving a wounded person on the street.

◇ ◇ ◇

Now, to the delight of a great many white South Africans, there is a fair degree of integration in public facilities—restaurants, clubs, cultural events, etc. This seems to be going on without a great deal of social tension. For the affluent, integration is working.

But other tensions remain. The killings by hit squads of both blacks and whites are increasing. These are not random instances of tribal violence as the U.S. press portrays, but intentional provocations meant to disrupt the movement toward true democracy and majority rule.

Only a few days ago 18 more people were slaughtered at an ANC funeral by hit squads armed with automatic weapons, ferried in vans. How do these people get their arms? How are they able to move about so freely? The violence is neither random nor tribal, but it is having a devastating effect. All those tensions are still there, sharper than before.

And along with reform come the urban slums and the homeless and beggars—both black and white—with little styrofoam cups in the street. Not all of them are deformed. Some are simply homeless—tucked into the cracks of a society where there was never much of a safety net. Now there is even less. At the same time there is an even more troubling question of those blacks and coloreds who have "graduated" into yuppie-dom—into the petite bourgeoisie—into red BMWs—into Mercedes. They seem to be everywhere.

There is a sense among people that the struggle has been won. There is a slackness, a lack of intensity—even in the liberation movement itself. You get the sense that people are surrendering authority, decision-making and involvement to the bureaucrats, the officers, on the assumption that things are moving toward a democratic society. Also, there is a tremendous exhaustion fueled by the weight of having to struggle every day for basic necessities such as food, housing, sanitation, health care, transportation, and education.

The society that we are moving toward—that might in time be achieved—looks to be different than what we had previously been striving for. The notions of socialism, nationalism and egalitarianism are now being quietly subsumed into versions of a bourgeois democracy and George Bush's New World Order—a static society where the rich will always get richer, and the poor will always be poor and get poorer. There seems to be a growing assumption that this is the natural order of things.

There are too many who seem resigned to a victory that is essentially compromised: a victory that is an agreement to share power, on terms that are dictated by the old oppressors; the sharing of power that was stolen, leaving the bulk of power—economic, political and military, the writing and enforcement of the law—in the hands of the old oppressor, the white minority.

Of course, that minority has swelled somewhat by the accretion of racist and ethnic groups willing to collaborate in greed for a share of the power: the compromised radicals who are willing to rewrite their own goals and own aims, a retreat from the goals for which we had struggled. Goals that we defined in struggle.

◇ ◇ ◇

There have been some good changes, of course. The economy is picking up though unemployment is still high—about 35 percent among blacks. More expressways, highways and high rises have been built. And some blacks are beginning to move out of menial jobs into white-collar professions. So there's no doubt that there have been changes. The trouble is that the fundamental changes haven't come yet.

For instance, Mandela still can't vote. Neither can Bishop Tutu. Seventy percent of the population can't vote. There's a lot of talk about a new constitution. But the apartheid government is proposing a constitution that, at one level, will have one-person one-vote, but at another level will be regional. Therefore, a white minority could still

Continued on following page

Continued from preceding page

have veto power in spite of the black majority.

You either have a democracy or you don't, and a democracy is a society in which everybody has the vote. When you give people the vote, and then at the same time take it away by saying it can be overridden by a

veto, then we really haven't arrived at a democracy. And we should say so.

South African society is getting better for some. But it was always better for some. Our goal, as I understand it, is that it should be better for all. Ours is not the world being put forward in George Bush's New World

Order. But it seems to me that that is where South Africa is going, and I will have to speak out against it. That will create difficulties for me. Not only in relation to my adversaries, but also in relation to my allies.

Disagreements with my allies will always be an element complicating life, a conflict that will sharpen as I persist in describing

things as I see them. So this leads to some problematic developments.

I hope there will be a steady march toward greater efficiency in the ANC bureaucracy and in the other liberation organizations that have been set up. But one must be troubled by the participation in these structures of the corporate interests. Corporate leaders have very little interest in setting up a democratic form of state or building an egalitarian society. They don't mind a bourgeois democracy with inequity. Well now, of course, they talk of the "market society," free enterprise. It's pretty much the same thing.

And so, it seems to me, we are seeing a transition from state capitalism and apartheid to multinational corporate capitalism and the "free market," where human beings become commodities like everything else. In some ways, the New World Order is even uglier than what we had before. Because it presents a sense of being immutable, and at best, people are opting for accommodation rather than fundamental change.

© 1991, Dennis Brutus

Message to Israeli Government & U.S. Congress from some American & Israeli Jews:

END THE OCCUPATION! LET THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE GO! NO MORE BILLIONS UNTIL!

For a unique and free information packet please contact:

The Jewish Committee On The Middle East (JCOME)

(202) 362-JCOME - (202) 362-5266 - Fax (202) 362-6965 - POB 18367 - Washington, DC 20036

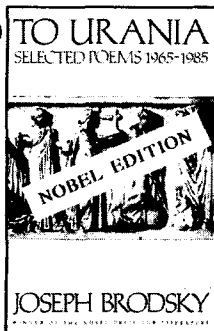
JCOME ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Dr. Yigal Arens, Univ. of Southern CA; Prof. Michael Astour, Univ. of Southern IL; Prof. Joel Beinin, Middle East History, Stanford Univ.; Mark Bruzonsky, Former Washington Rep. World Jewish Congress; Prof. Noam Chomsky M.I.T.; Prof. Richard Falk, Princeton Univ.; Prof. Herbert Hill, Univ. of WI; Jeremy Levin, Former CNN Beirut Bureau Chief; Prof. Zachary Lockman, Middle East History, Harvard Univ.; Prof. Seymour Melman, Columbia Univ.; Dr. Eileen Newmark Ph.D., Intercultural Communications; Prof. Don Peretz, Middle East Studies, SUNY; Henry Schwarzschild NY; Prof. J. David Singer, Univ. of MI; Richard Walden, Attorney. With Jewish Professors at over 150 Universities nationwide.

New: "INFO BY FAX" - Call For Details

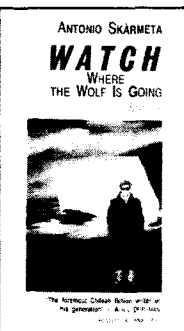
* Students: Please Call...We Need Interns.

NEW! FREE BOOKS WHEN YOU JOIN READERS INTERNATIONAL

To Urania (066)
by Joseph Brodsky,
Russia
'Enriches the
tradition of Eliot
and Auden'
*N.Y. Times
Book Review*



and Save \$75
on regular prices
for the
**World's Best
Reading**



**Watch Where
the Wolf Is
Going (084)**
by Antonio
Skarmeta
Chile
'First-rate
stories'
Village Voice

Readers International invites you
to discover good reading from around the world. Receive handsome, sewn, hardcover series selections - at paperback prices - each one a literary event, a gifted writer's unique view of his or her world, and of today's most compelling stories and dramas.

To Urania - magnificent Nobel Edition of the works of Russia's greatest living literary figure, known for his irony and richly sensuous language.

Watch Where the Wolf Is Going - Passion and politics from the Conquistadors to today, in delightful stories by a Latin American master storyteller.

Saeed the Pessoptimist - the first Palestinian novel to become a bestseller in Hebrew. Burlesque of Israel's

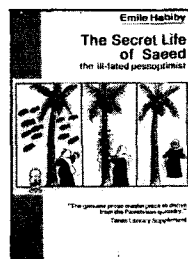
and Arabs that strikes at the heart of the Middle East. **Crows of Deliverance** - Like Chekhov's characters, Verma's disillusioned holy men and uprooted intellectuals show an intensity at once comical, poignant and enchanting.

Mothers and Shadows - the most gripping women's novel you'll ever read, of an aging vamp and a young guerrilla on the run from Argentina's 'Dirty War'.

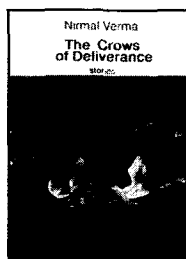
RI works like this - subscribe for **only \$9.95** (plus \$2 p&p), and you'll get your first RI hardback, plus one book of your choice as pictured here, **FREE**. Or subscribe, as you would to a magazine, for a six book series of our newest hardbacks at extra savings, plus **TWO FREE** bonus books right away.

Join RI Now - and Read the World.

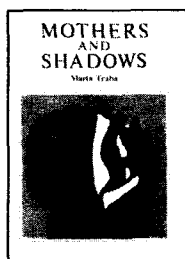
(Free books in paperback; all subscription volumes in hardcover editions.)



**Saeed the
Pessoptimist (062)**
by Emile Habiby,
Palestinian
'Carnavalesque
explosion of parody'
*London Review
of Books*



**The Crows of
Deliverance (080)**
by
Nirmal Verma,
India
'Cosmopolitan with an
Indian spin'
Kirkus Reviews



**Mothers and
Shadows (016)**
by Marta Traba,
Argentina
'Electrifying portrait
of courageous and
vulnerable women'
San Fran. Chronicle

Readers International

READERS INTERNATIONAL

P.O. Box 959 Columbia LA 71418

Please begin my subscription to RI at the special \$9.95 subscriber price (+ \$2 p&p). I may cancel at any time.

Name _____
Address _____ Apt. no. _____
City _____ State/Prov. _____ ZIP/Postcode _____
ITT 31

☐ \$11.95 (Can\$14.95) enclosed. My FREE book, no.
☐ Bill my ☐ VISA or ☐ MasterCard.

Card No. _____ Expiry date _____

Signature _____
SPECIAL SAVINGS and TWO FREE books:

☐ I enclose \$55 (Can\$65) for a six book series subscription. I'll get RI's six newest world titles, plus two FREE books (title numbers)

☐ Bill my credit card for special six book series price.

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE S

If applicable affix your mailing label here.

I AM:

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

☐ **MOVING.**

NEW ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4 - 6 weeks for the address change.

☐ **SUBSCRIBING.** Fill out your name and address above and we will have IN THESE TIMES with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else in your mailbox within 4 - 6 weeks. Check price and term below. **ASTNO**

☐ **RENEWING.** Do it now and keep IN THESE TIMES coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. Check price and term below. **ARSTO**

☐ **SHOPPING.** Give an IN THESE TIMES gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Fill out your name and address above and name and address of recipient below. A handsome gift card will be sent. **XSTHO**

NAME OF RECIPIENT _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PRICE / TERM

☐ One year: \$34.95
☐ Six months: \$18.95
☐ Student/retired, One year: \$24.95
☐ Institutional, One year: \$59.00
☐ Payment enclosed
☐ Bill me later
☐ Charge my VISA/MC

ACCT. NO. _____

EXP. DATE _____
Above prices for U.S. residents only. Foreign orders add \$41.00 per year. Canadian orders add \$27.00 per year.

In These Times Customer Service
1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054

By Norman Solomon

JERUSALEM

UNTIL A FEW MONTHS AGO, SHLOMO SOLOMON Bass called the Ukraine home. Now he's with more than 500 other Jewish immigrants from the USSR and Ethiopia living in a cavernous hotel on the outskirts of Jerusalem. At age 66, unemployed after a career as a mechanical engineer, he faces an uncertain future.

Voicing discontent about the hotel accommodations, Bass seems preoccupied with his own troubles. When asked about the Israeli occupation of the nearby West Bank, he replies crisply.

"It's not an occupation," he says in Russian. "It's our territory."

Where the heart is: Marina Cogan is also among the 300,000 Soviet Jews to reach Israel during the past two years. "I think that I must be here," she explains, speaking in English. "Every Jew must want to be here."

Cogan, 27, left her job at the Lenin Library in Moscow and traveled with her mother and son to the promised land. Eighteen months later, employed as a social worker for more recent émigrés housed at the Diplomat Hotel, she sounds confident. "I feel myself very good here. I miss Moscow, of course, but I love Israel already. I feel here like at home. I feel that Israel is my home."

Israeli officials have predicted that an additional 400,000 Soviet Jews will arrive by the end of next year. At this rate, within a few years, at least 1 million Soviets will have migrated—increasing Israel's population by one-third. The journey was streamlined in early October, when the first direct flights began from Moscow to Tel Aviv, cutting chartered air fares in half.

Cogan seems to reflect a dominant view held by Soviet immigrants about Palestinians and the West Bank: "I'm Jew. For me it's very difficult—impossible to tell that we must give them Judea. I have a great ache when I hear about it. I don't want it—to give them Judea. Because it's really our place.... I don't want our government to give them Judea."

A sacrifice for whom? Just inside the border between the West Bank and Jordan, a young Israeli guard responds to a question about the arriving Soviets with a quick thumbs-up. "People know it's a sacrifice, but most people are willing to sacrifice," he says. After moving to Israel seven years ago—from Brooklyn, New York—he seems comfortable with the Israeli government's treatment of the Palestinians.

But while Jews born in other parts of the world flock freely to Israel, on the other side of the Jordan River some people born in Palestine are barred from returning. One such person is Said Madhieh. In November 1968, when Madhieh was 34 years old, Israeli troops came to his home in the Hebron district of the West Bank after he wrote leaflets denouncing the occupation. Twenty-one months of imprisonment followed, during which, Madhieh says, he was tortured.

Madhieh is now a journalist living in Amman, Jordan. He was expelled from his homeland in the summer of 1970 and has not been allowed back since.

Every man for himself: New arrivals to Israel, from places like Moscow and Brooklyn, seem unconcerned about such matters. Nor do they appear worried about the cruelties and injustices that are constants of the occupation. In this way, they are in sync with the support of Israel that still prevails in the U.S.

"It was always a harsh and brutal military occupation—there is no other kind of mili-



Occupied Territories' new occupants are Soviet Jews

tary occupation," Noam Chomsky points out. "Since the intifada got started, it's become a lot worse. Sometimes, when it reaches a

THE MIDEAST

kind of outlandish brutality, it hits the American media. But what is not reported or understood is that there is a highly totalitarian regime controlling every aspect of the life of a Palestinian at every moment, in a completely arbitrary and irrational fashion."

American mass media and U.S. government officials—heralding democratic changes in Eastern Europe, and independence achieved by Lithuanians, Estonians and Latvians—cite no imperative for democracy for Palestinians.

Rather than challenging Israel's occupation, the Bush administration continues to abet it. Washington's much-ballyhooed delay in a \$10 billion loan guarantee does

"It's not an occupation," says one new arrival in his native Russian. "It's our territory."

nothing to disrupt the U.S. government's massive aid pipeline to Israel—money desperately needed by Israeli policymakers facing a foreign debt of over \$20 billion, the largest such per capita debt in the world.

"For Israel to change its policy, it must be coerced in a brutal way—cutting off aid, limiting commercial relations, and the like," says Mattityahu Peled, the Israeli army officer who was on the general staff during the 1967 war and became the Gaza Strip's first military governor. He added that in Israel "the expansionists, the annexationists, are deliberately working against every possibility of solving the conflict.... And since they cannot go on implementing their annexationist policies without American money, I think it is our duty to call upon the United States to stop giving money to Israel."

De facto annexation: Regardless of how

many Soviet Jews settle in the West Bank, their immigration to Israel is providing powerful pressure for added Israeli settlements in occupied territories. Palestinians, more than ever, will see the demographics of their homeland stacked against them. And, in Peled's words, "If the United States goes on financing unlimited settlements that have no economic foundation except American money, then there will eventually be half a

million Jews in the West Bank, and it may be an irretrievable situation."

The government of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has pushed hard to encourage the influx of Soviet Jews. But leaving is another matter. As *Middle East International* magazine reported last month, many are "saving up to pay back the huge debt to the Israeli government their family has unwittingly incurred by accepting its flight tickets and initial absorption grant." For those who don't want to remain in Israel, "only after these thousands of dollars have been returned will they be allowed to leave the country."

Meanwhile, de facto annexation continues. At the Jordanian border, Israeli signs matter-of-factly refer to the Occupied Territories as "Judea and Samaria." The daily *Jerusalem Post* calls them "administered territories." Israelis are surrounded by the official Orwellian euphemisms of a militarized state.

No spot in East Jerusalem or the West Bank is far from Israeli soldiers brandishing machine guns. Every night, Palestinian newspapers undergo rigorous Israeli censorship before going to press. And the broken bones of Palestinian children, shattered by Israeli troops in the Occupied Territories, symbolize the shattering realities behind Zionist rhetoric. If a Moses emerged among Palestinians, he would be hauled off to administrative detention. Or worse.

The new arrivals from the Soviet Union, who have their own problems, seem to know little of this. Meanwhile, the Shamir government pursues its game plan for Greater Israel.

Norman Solomon is co-author of *Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media*, published in paperback in September.

Senator Tom Harkin, Democratic candidate for President, exposes the dangers, hypocrisy and waste of America's nuclear weapons policy—

In his book *Five Minutes To Midnight: Why the Nuclear Threat is Growing Faster Than Ever*, Senator Harkin persuades us that, even with an end to the Cold War and dissolution of the Soviet Union, the nuclear threat is still thriving. He reveals that:

- The most likely route to nuclear war is through client-states or third world nations;
- While the *number* of nuclear weapons may have been cut, we are now manufacturing more powerful and sophisticated weapons that could destroy the world a hundred times over;
- Manufacturing a nuclear arsenal is destroying our society from within. Funding is no longer available to solve the drug problem, inadequate education, the pollution of the environment, crime, and more.

Five Minutes To Midnight also offers Senator Harkin's workable alternative—one that would once and for all end the possibility of a nuclear holocaust.

Read *Five Minutes to Midnight* now to discover how this prominent Presidential candidate views the nuclear arms issue and how it affects our international and domestic policies.



Senator Tom Harkin (D., Iowa), Candidate for the 1992 Presidency and author of *Five Minutes to Midnight*

To order, call 1-800-447-BOOK (Visa or MasterCard) or send \$18.95, plus \$3 shipping and handling, to: Carol Publishing, Dept. IN, 120 Enterprise Avenue, Secaucus, NJ 07094. (N.J. residents add \$1.35 sales tax.)

15 YEARS

To commemorate In These Times' 15th anniversary, we thought we'd treat our readers to a sampling of editorials. During the past decade and a half, we've commented on everything from private housing in Moscow (we were for it) to the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit on U.S. interstates (we were against it). It would be impossible to provide a comprehensive overview of our political philosophy—so we didn't even try. Instead, the In These Times staff decided to offer a collection of editorials on issues still in the headlines. But while our selection is limited, we believe it is not entirely unrepresentative. The first section, for example, concerns David Duke—the current Louisiana Republican gubernatorial candidate and former grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. In These Times has been following his career since 1977—and our editorials on the subject say a great deal about our views on civil liberties, racial relations and electoral politics.



12 IN THES

David Duke

David Duke's face first appeared in In These Times' fifth issue. It was a different face then, though perhaps not a different Duke. This was before plastic surgery, when Duke was still sporting an Adolf Hitler haircut and mustache (see photo page 2). The photo was taken during Duke's appearance at the Marine Corps' Camp Pendleton base near San Diego, where a Klan organization among the ranks had heated racial tensions. While some civil-rights advocates wanted to overturn military rules that allowed political groups to organize, In These Times urged restraint.

Jan. 19, 1977: The world and this society would be better if the Klan and other racist organizations were no longer around. But wishing will not make it so. And in the light of American history, a law or regulation banning such organizations is little more than a wish in the form of a legalistic or bureaucratic fiat. Such laws have never put an end to racist or right-wing organizations. On the contrary, they have invariably been turned against progressives and the left. ...

The best antidote to racist organizations is not legalistic or bureaucratic fiat to ban political organization and democratic rights, but more political organization and ideological struggle by progressive people, black and white, in the armed services and in society.

On June 6, 1979, In These Times ran a news story documenting Duke's increased activity and that of other Klan leaders in the South. The accompanying editorial seems even more pertinent now that David Duke is making national TV appearances than it did when he was burning crosses.

June 6, 1979: Ku Klux Klan aggressions ... should remind us, if we need reminding, that the struggle for civil rights and democracy is far from won, and that racism is still a major force in the U.S.

As the nation's economy approaches recession, aggravating the already serious problems of unemployment and declining living conditions, extra vigilance will be needed against racist attempts to scapegoat blacks and other minorities, divide the working people against themselves, and distract them from a common resistance to the real source of their troubles—the corporations, the utilities, the banks and their political allies.

A decade later, Duke was elected to the Louisiana state legislature.

March 1, 1989: Republicans hoping to win middle-class blacks to their banner are now in a pickle. For years—ever since Richard Nixon initiated his Southern Strategy in 1968—the GOP has done its best to win over white racists. Ronald Reagan's election successes owed a lot to his appeals to the prejudices of whites, couched in attacks on welfare queens and appeals to states' rights doctrines. And George Bush's campaign revolved around TV commercials about Willie Horton, the Massachusetts black who raped a white woman while on furlough from prison.

It should therefore be no surprise that the Southerners flocking to the Republican Party ... are strong advocates of keeping blacks in what was once their place. Nor should it be a surprise that having been primed by the Bush campaign's Willie Horton ads, they find nothing untoward in electing a former Klan leader who speaks the party's lingo.

The Persian Gulf

Oct. 22, 1980: Whether or not the U.S. has played a direct role in encouraging Iraq's aggression [in its 1980 invasion of Iran] ... the war has become an occasion to beef up American forces and the American strategic position in the Middle East.

This process began well before the outbreak of current hostilities. After the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the U.S. built up its Rapid Deployment Force and targeted it for the Persian Gulf. It also strengthened its fleet in the Indian Ocean. ...

The deployment of American troops has dramatized American readiness to use military force to protect oil supplies in the Persian Gulf. As a Pentagon spokesman observed, it also "opens up the door for much more extensive military cooperation with the Saudis." And the U.S. offer of similar assistance to other "non-belligerent friends in the area who feel threatened by the conflict," may open the gate to U.S. military presence in other Gulf states.

March 20, 1991: A hundred years from now, when historians look back on the United States in the 20th century, the war in the Gulf will be seen as the climax of a failed attempt by the American empire to regain its position as the nonpareil of imperial powers. The Gulf war, and the dogged determination of President George Bush to pursue the slaughter to its glorious end, finished the process of transforming our nation from world leader to world policeman. But policemen are never true rulers. Instruments of power, they do other people's dirty work. And, ultimately, they exist only at the sufferance of others...

Not surprisingly, American military power made short work of a country with a gross national product equal to that of the state of Kentucky. This victory, which has solved none of the problems in the Mideast but is for the moment immensely popular at home, is being used by Bush to preserve a militarized economy and the illusion of American world dominance. But whether one looks at it from the point of view of social needs of the nation, or from that of a ruling class hoping to keep its place as a leader in the international community of nations, Bush's path is a dead end. If not reversed, and soon, the United States in 2090 will look like Britain in 1990.

Israeli-Palestinian relations

Some ideas are worth repeating.

May 17, 1978: To be a true friend of Israel is to be a friend of Palestinian statehood. It is not possible to be a friend of one and an enemy of the other.

Aug. 11, 1982: [S]ecurity for Israel is no longer to be won on the battlefield. The only hope for peace and security is to extend to the Palestinians what the Israelis sought for themselves in the 1940s—a state of their own.

Jan. 13, 1988: Israel has become a nation of 3.5 million Jews and 2.1 million hostile Palestinians. The Palestinians are in the Occupied Territories to stay. Their numbers are growing, as is their determination to have a state of their own. Since they recognize the PLO as their only representative, Israel must accept this truth and be willing to negotiate with its enemy. That's the only way to end an unwinnable war.

Nov. 6, 1991: Few people familiar with the region believe that a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is possible until the national rights of both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs are recognized.

The Soviet Union

Feb. 9, 1977: [T]he lack of political freedom in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe is a matter of genuine concern for socialists everywhere, both because it violates the basic principles of socialism and because what happens in the world's first socialist country and in its European sphere of influence tends to define what people everywhere ... perceive socialism to be. It is important to understand why the Soviets and Eastern European governments are the way they are; and it is equally important to do whatever can be done to democratize them.

Sept. 4, 1991: Now, almost magically, the Soviet Union is free of the Communist Party. ... This situation is at once exhilarating in the possibilities it presents and terrifying in the dangers it confronts. ... As the nation gropes its way into a future unknown, we in the West must do everything possible—starting with direct humanitarian aid—to help ease the transition and help stabilize Soviet society.

Iran-contra

Two months ago, special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh dropped all remaining Iran-contra charges against Oliver North. The move came after a court ruled that the testimony of key witness Robert McFarlane was tainted by the congressional testimony North gave in 1987 under immunity. Even as the Iran-contra affair was unraveling in 1986, In These Times urged against granting North immunity and warned of its consequences.

Dec. 24, 1986: The president ... claims that he wants to get to the bottom of this as quickly as possible. To do so, last week he called on Congress to provide "use," or limited, immunity to Lt. Col. North and Adm. Poindexter, so that they could testify without fear of prosecution. But that very request further undermined Reagan's credibility, for as commander-in-chief of the armed forces he can order both these men to testify or lose their commissions. Granting them immunity, on the other hand, would nullify the purpose of an independent prosecutor as it might contaminate any evidence against these men gathered subsequent to their testifying.

Drugs

Sept. 6, 1989: [I]n the long run the craving for drugs must be addressed as the social problem it is. Drug use, including alcoholism, is in large part a reflection of hopeless, meaningless lives. Desperate poverty, with little or no hope for leading a productive and comfortable life, is the major cause of our current drug crisis. But a society devoid of social purpose and obsessed with material gain and personal "success" creates a widespread demand for narcotics—from Valium and alcohol to cocaine—among all sectors of our society.

The drug crisis, in short, is not a thing in itself. Trying to stop the use of drugs through the attempted enforcement of narcotics laws is like trying to kill grass by mowing it. Ultimately the drug crisis is the product of the anti-social priorities that have governed our public policies since the end of World War II, and especially in the last decade. The crisis is of a piece with the Cold War, our military-oriented economy and our official deification of corporate profit. When we begin changing these priorities and begin to put the needs of all our people first, drug use will abate on its own.

The economy

Reaganomics, the federal deficit and the insider financial scandals of the '80s had not yet come to pass when In These Times began publishing. But in its first year, the paper caught a glimpse of the ugly future of American finance. It was exemplified in Bert Lance, President Carter's head of the Office of Management and Budget who resigned in 1977 after he was caught misusing funds from his Georgia bank.

Oct. 5, 1977: Lance's conduct illustrates the extent to which capitalist enterprise involves the use of social wealth (bank funds) in the name of "development" by private operators for private gain, instead of its use by socially responsible agencies for the public good.

It reveals that however much capitalists sermonize over the benefits of a balanced national budget, they know that the road to their own private wealth often lies in massive deficit-spending of other people's money.

It also illustrates the fact that the capitalist market operates far more on the basis of power relations, social and political connections, and negotiated prerogatives than the textbook abstractions about impersonal forces of supply and demand or "competitive efficiency" would lead us to believe.

The paper also anticipated the Reagan era's clamor against "big government"—and saw it for exactly what it was.

Aug. 16, 1978: Conservative howlers against "big government" do not want less government. They want more government aid to business and less to labor. They want more government suppression of freedom for business' opponents and the press, but less government inhibitions on profit-making.

They lobby to defeat a \$15 million consumer protection agency, but applaud the appropriation of \$1.7 billion to the Department of Commerce to promote business interests at home and abroad. ... [Corporate] corruption of the economic process and of political democracy is daily news. Nearly three-fifths of the members of the big corporations' Business Roundtable have been implicated in illegal political payoffs or anti-trust violations. Their "bigness" goes without saying.

Upon taking office in 1981, President Reagan announced huge tax cuts as part of his "supply side" economic program—thus starting the process that transformed the United States from the world's biggest creditor to the world's biggest debtor.

Feb. 18, 1981: [T]he problem facing corporate management in recent decades has not been a shortage of capital but rather a shortage of sufficiently profitable investment opportunities, especially in manufacturing industries. American corporate investment programs are not oriented toward increasing productivity. Corporate managers are more interested in quick profits. Management would rather invest in building corporate empires through construction of corporate conglomerates than spend the money to develop new technology or for new plants and equipment. ... Many of these investments are likely to be made abroad with no concern for the loss of jobs at home. ...

Reagan is not planning to balance the budget this year. His administration will propose tens of billions [of dollars] in cuts in social services, but it will also propose tens of billions in tax cuts, and tens of billions ... in increased military spending. ...

The "freedom" that Reagan has so fervently attempted to identify with in the first weeks of his presidency is at the root of the country's social and economic problems, because it is primarily the freedom of business to pursue profit without regard for the social consequences. It was this freedom that brought the country to the brink of disaster in the Great Depression.

The Democrats

From its very first issue to its most recent, In These Times editorials have regularly chronicled the Democrats' frustrating and steady self-destruction—as well as the party's potential for renewal.

Nov. 15, 1976: To more and more people it is clear that the political system is at an impasse. It presents us all with little more than dilemmas: choices between equally obnoxious or no longer credible alternatives. That is why the more exposure President Ford and President-elect Carter got, the harder it was to choose between them.

Aug. 27, 1980: Once nominated, Carter had only one thing going for him—fear of Reagan—just as Reagan's major asset is popular disgust with Carter.

Nov. 21, 1984: Mondale tried to have it both ways. He tried to convince the corporate community that unlike Reagan he was responsible—to them—and that he was a leader who knew the budget had to be brought more closely toward balance, and that taxes would have to be raised to do it. But he also appealed to the "special interest" groups by supporting programs that would cost a good deal of money, which could only cause further imbalances. Unless, of course, there were massive cuts in military spending, and that he explicitly opposed.

Sept. 14, 1988: Michael Dukakis won the Democratic nomination by saying as little of substance as possible and by waiting for his opponents—other than Jesse Jackson—to self-destruct. Now he appears to be conducting the presidential race on the same principle. ...

[S]o far, Dukakis hasn't given any hint that he can put forward a program that is more attractive to the public than the Reagan record, which is Bush's basic platform. Dukakis, too, has shied completely away from Central America, he has waffled on military spending and he has failed to develop a concept of national defense that doesn't simply rely on military spending and muscle-flexing in foreign affairs. ...

Some of these are tough issues to explain to the public. They require a coherent approach and a determination to treat the American people like adults, rather than couch potatoes. That would require a commitment to talk in more than catch phrases and 30-second TV bites, and to have an independent strategy. Instead, Dukakis has left the initiative to the Republicans, apparently hoping that he can roll with the punches long enough to emerge on top. It seems a strategy designed to lose what looked like an easy victory just a few weeks ago.

Oct. 30, 1991: It has become habitual for consultants and candidates to underestimate the intelligence and interest of the American electorate and in the process create what they project—a people distrustful and disinterested in politics. This has especially been the Republican game plan, because they have the most to lose from a serious discussion of the problems facing American society. But the Democrats have gone along in recent presidential campaigns because they, too, have represented the special corporate interests that rule our society.

Now the Democrats can win if they are willing to stop playing the Bush administration game and propose basic reorientation of our national priorities. Conventional wisdom—reinforced daily by the commercial media—says that George Bush is unbeatable. We think he is extremely vulnerable, but only to candidates who will reinforce their rhetoric with substance.

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein
 Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson (on leave)
 Acting Managing Editor: Miles Harvey
 Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil
 Assistant Managing Editors: Glenora Croucher, Jim McNeill
 Culture Editor: Jeff Reid
 European Editor: Diana Johnstone
 New York Editor: Daniel Lazare
 In Person Editor: Joel Bleifuss
 Contributing Editor: Peter Karman
 Washington Correspondents: John Canham-Clyne, John B. Judis
 Eastern Europe Correspondent: Paul Hockenros
 Los Angeles Correspondent: Carol Tice
 Copy Editor: Deirdre Shesgreen
 Editorial Promotions: Lisa Grayson
 Researcher: George Hodak
 Editorial Intern: Zoe Zolbrod

Art Director: Miles DeCoster
 Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan
 Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein
 Production Assistant/Editorial Cartoonist: Terry LaBan
 Typesetter: Jim Rinnert

Publisher: James Weinstein
 Associate Publisher: Beth Schulman
 Co-Business Managers: Louis Hirsch, Finance
 Kevin O'Donnell, Data Processing/Accounting
 Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey
 Classified Advertising: Greg Kilbane
 Office Manager: Theresa Nutall
 Circulation Director: Janet Geovanis
 Fulfillment Manager: Greg Kilbane
 Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert

In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and nonsocialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1991 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in both the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$5; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

This issue (Vol. 15, No. 41) published Nov. 6, 1991, for newsstand sales Nov. 6-12, 1991.

WATERS
UNION

GCU



Bush policy guarantees more Mideast turmoil

Despite media accolades for the Bush administration over the convening of a Mideast peace conference, current American policy is incapable of addressing the underlying problems affecting the region. Unless that policy is changed, the Mideast will likely remain the primary focal point for armed conflict and U.S. intervention for many years to come.

Despite stereotypes to the contrary, the Islamic world has not historically been characterized by warfare and violence. Over the past 500 years, North America and Europe have seen far more bloodshed. Much of the conflict and strife for which the Mideast is now known stems from the European colonial era; at its roots are the same sorts of problems that are affecting the rest of the Third World. Artificial colonial boundaries, which helped spark the recent Gulf crisis, are but one.

More fundamentally, the "Third World" problems afflicting the Mideast are: a lack of democratic institutions, a high level of militarism, an enormous gap between rich and poor, and economies geared more toward exports to wealthy countries than regional economic development. Indeed, the Mideast has more dictatorships, more weapons, more inequality and a higher ratio of exports-to-regional-consumption than any region in the world. Add to this the festering Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and this creates a volatile formula for conflict.

Like any effective demagogue, Saddam Hussein was able to use these legitimate concerns—albeit manipulatively and hypocritically—for his illegitimate ends, giving him the important popular support in the Arab world he needed to force a showdown with the United States. Therefore, if Bush is interested in long-term stability in the Mideast, he must gear U.S. policy toward addressing these problem areas, otherwise it will only invite continued instability and embolden future tyrants.

Unfortunately, not only does the administration's Mideast policy fail to resolve these five areas of conflict, but it exacerbates them.

Rather than encourage democratization, the U.S. has reduced or maintained low levels of economic, military or diplomatic support to Arab countries—such as Tunisia, Algeria, Yemen and Jordan—that have experienced substantial liberalization in recent years, while increasing support for dictatorial regimes such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Morocco. Jordan, for example, received large-scale U.S. support in the '70s and '80s despite widespread repression and authoritarian rule. Now that it has become, arguably, the most democratic country in the Arab world, Congress has voted to cut off all foreign aid. And aid to Israel, which has a strong democratic tradition regarding its own citizens, has been increased even as repression in the Occupied

Territories has intensified. American occupation forces failed to stop widespread repression, even lynchings, of Palestinian residents of Kuwait. The message to Mideast countries is clear: democracy is not important to the United States.

The U.S. has been responsible for transfers of hundreds of billions of dollars of highly sophisticated armaments into the region during the past 20 years. And now the administration plans to increase arms transfers to the region substantially (see page 17). Next year alone, this is expected to total more than \$22 billion. These arms may be used by individual governments against neighboring states, their own populations or even against Americans. U.S.-supplied weapons to Mideast states have been used repeatedly, killing thousands of civilians during Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, and have already killed scores of Americans as well.

Rather than encourage a redistribution of wealth within or between countries and supporting mechanisms that would enable the countries' enormous wealth to remain in the region, the U.S. has opposed the establishment of a regional development bank and encouraged greater investments by oil-rich countries into American banking, real estate and military industries. As long as a relative handful of Arabs live in opulent luxury while millions remain malnourished and poverty-stricken, any hope of political stability in the Mideast is a fantasy. The identification of the wealthy elite with U.S. interests further breeds anti-American resentment, especially as the awareness of the widespread corruption and decadence of these elites, and their contravention of Islamic values, grows.

Few people familiar with the region believe that a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is possible until the national rights of both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs are recognized. The U.S. is virtually alone in the world community in its refusal to support such a two-state solution. Indeed, American taxpayers send more than \$4 billion annually to Israel, a subsidy made necessary because of the Shamir government's refusal to end its costly occupation. Bush refused even to negotiate with the PLO, which is recognized by the vast majority of Palestinians as their representative, or to make aid to Israel conditional on its honoring of international law, human rights, or U.N. Security Council resolutions. Popular support for the Palestinian cause is widespread in the Mideast, and the administration's support of Israeli intransigence makes possible opportunistic attacks by Arab dictators against Israel's very right to exist.

Not only is administration policy unethical, but it is simply unworkable. It is harmful for the inhabitants of the region and damaging to American interests as well. Current U.S. policy increases the prospects of terrorism and puts future diplomatic initiatives, as well as economic and cultural exchanges, at risk.

Most Americans believe the administration's rhetoric that the U.S. supports democracy, international law, demilitarization, economic development and Israeli-Palestinian peace. The challenge for the left is to expose the nature of Bush's policy and to work for change. ■

LETTERS

The imaginary left

IN JOHN JUDIS' LIGHTER-THAN-AIR ANALYSIS OF foreign policy (*ITT*, Oct. 9), the pattern of apologetics is always present but takes several forms. One is the false dichotomization between an "interest-oriented" and "evangelical" thrust in foreign policy. In reality, the evangelical has usually complemented the interest-oriented, providing the latter with a needed moral cover. But the false separation allows Judis to allocate the foreign policy "bads" to the evangelicals, leaving the interest-oriented policy as the realm of the benign, aiming only to expand free commerce, and (quoting Tonelson) "the protection of regions [sic] that are important sources of raw materials," etc. But the agents of protection of "the regions" are people like Mobutu, Marcos, Suharto, Ubico, Somoza, etc., who provide suitable access and a proper degree of subservience.

With the unpleasantness of empire the fault of the "evangelicals," Judis finds the World Bank and International Monetary Fund are playing an "essential role in sustaining world commerce" and, most important, that the working class has an "economic stake in American access to foreign markets." Not in intervention and the support of Mobutu and Pinochet—just markets! He says, "The new evangelism distracts attention from pressing social problems at home," but not the "interest oriented" quest for markets. Judis never discusses forthrightly just what the workers gain and lose from empire, or whether alternative ways of organizing the use of resources might not serve them better. Empire and the politics of empire are his implicit givens.

So are the nominal claims of the foreign policy establishment. Bush's Gulf War, he tells us, was based on his perception of "the threat posed to stability" in a region important for world oil supplies. Not a desire to control, merely to stabilize; not a wish to enhance his political fortunes and that of his security state allies but a benevolent and constructive aim, even if not fully met.

The final form of apologetics, a long-standing Judis ploy, is to use the "left" as an extremist foil, which he can rebut without engaging the issues. This allowed Judis all through the '80s to sneer at the U.S. left's alleged idealization of the Sandinistas, while he consistently evaded discussing just what the U.S. was doing to Nicaragua and why, and comparing Nicaragua's performance with that of the nearby U.S. clients. In the present instance, Judis says that after the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, anti-war critics "rejected the idea that Americans should intervene in order to protect the world oil supply." Anti-war critics had a varied and often complex analysis of the sources and resolution of the crisis; Judis' assertion of the U.S. aims is simple-minded apologetics, and his characterization of the critics' position is a caricature.

Edward S. Herman
Penn Valley, Pa.

Fun and games

THE RIGHT WING OF THE WOMYN'S MOVEMENT has been very successful in getting people to equate sex with sexual harassment. Even Alexander Cockburn comments on the



inappropriateness of Kennedy being on the Senate panel of the Thomas hearings.

Since when does enjoying sex equal sexual harassment?!! As far as I know, Mary Jo Kopeckne was a willing partner in Ted's misadventure. If Thomas was being accused of DWI or acting cowardly in a crisis, I could understand how Ted would be inappropriate; but frankly, in the Senate debate Ted was great. His speech damning the senators who voted yes was one of his finest hours.

Gary Romeo
Dallas, Texas

Shamir and his buddies

RECENTLY, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS REPORTED that "a defiant Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir" stated, "...Israel will build more Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab lands." He also said, "All the territories of Eretz Israel must be settled by Jews, more and more"—"Eretz Israel" being the Hebrew term for the biblical Land of Israel. Shamir has sworn never to return one inch of land.

Considering that this is a group of people who consider themselves "Chosen of God," one would expect that their treatment of other human beings would be more compassionate. Israeli soldiers disguised as Palestinians have penetrated communities and terrorized the inhabitants. They have shut down West Bank universities and in 1987, after the intifada began, Palestinian schools were closed. It was even illegal to have alternative sources for education. God's people have also done the dirty work of our U.S. government such as secret arms deals and drug trafficking and have trained individuals involved in the Colombian cocaine cartel, to name only a few deceitful acts.

In the meantime, Congress continues to send billions and billions to Israel while we here in America suffer a major financial

crisis including lack of adequate housing, the closing of schools and libraries and other problems. Until such time that congressional representatives and other supporters of the state of Israel realize that we are accomplices to their crimes, we will continue to see and read about further brutal acts of aggression and additional settlements in stolen land.

Some may judge this anti-Semitic. But I am simply pro-American and know my priorities. Nor will I hesitate to speak out on behalf of those who are victims of human-rights violations.

Eva M. Coppolillo
San Mateo, Calif.

Biking commentary

I THOROUGHLY ENJOYED WILL NIXON'S "RUNNING Commentary" (*ITT*, Sept. 25). Although I am not a runner, I appreciate the feeling of opening doors Nixon gets by running in neighborhoods other than his "own."

I have just moved to a new city, which I am exploring block by block on a bicycle. Cycling takes me into many of the same kinds of areas Nixon runs into—the industrial zones and the non-gentrified neighborhoods. A bicycle allows me to cover more ground and go farther afield than other forms of transportation, and it's more personal than driving. I bike in neighborhoods I would never visit otherwise, and I learn all the side streets and back alleys.

Brian D. Luster
Baltimore, Md.

The union and us

IN MY ARTICLE ON THE NATIONAL WRITERS UNION affiliation with the United Auto Workers (*ITT*, Oct. 2), I indicated that a longstanding effort on the part of writers to be paid by

In These Times had improved. In fairness to writers represented by the union, I need to set the record straight on the union's negotiations with *In These Times*.

When I filed my story, a tentative understanding had been reached with *In These Times* publisher Jim Weinstein in which the Writers Union agreed to help with a national fundraiser, and *In These Times* would earmark a fixed percentage for back wages owed to *In These Times* writers and photographers—more than \$130,000. This was the latest stage of a two-year struggle to collect fees for writers.

However, by the time my article ran, Weinstein had said he was unable to agree to a fixed percentage. NWU grievance officers concluded that this removed guarantees that writers would be paid at all and decided instead to ask unions, traditionally strong *In These Times* supporters, to earmark their *In These Times* contributions this year to pay delinquent fees to writers.

When I look for *In These Times* in San Francisco bookstores, it is always sold out. People want to read it. Regardless of how the world's politics turn, *In These Times* continues to be an important analytic, progressive voice and a tireless advocate of labor, environment, women, education, immigrants—all the areas largely ignored by the mainstream press. And some writers are so committed to *In These Times*' editorial role that they waive their fees. But most writers cannot afford to do this. And bills cannot be paid with promises.

Obviously, the National Writers Union is uncomfortable struggling with a publication that should be a role model for fair treatment of workers.

It is my hope that somehow organized labor will help *In These Times* find a way to become and remain solvent, so the paper will continue to be a forum for writers, and so that it can become larger and more accessible to American readers.

Julia Gilden
Vice President at Large
National Writers Union

Correction

The byline on Pete Karman's "Confirmation Game," last week's backpage article, was inadvertently dropped. Sorry, Pete.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



I HAD ONE OF THOSE TERRIBLE DREAMS WHERE I'M BACK IN COLLEGE AND I'M LATE FOR MY FINAL EXAM AND EVERY TIME I THINK I'VE FOUND THE RIGHT ROOM AND I OPEN THE DOOR, THE GUYS FROM THE SENATE COMMITTEE POP UP AND SAY, "YOU ONLY IMAGINE YOU HAVE A FINAL EXAM, YOU'RE A FANTASIST." I SAY, "NO, I'M A MARINE BIOLOGIST," AND THEN I WAKE UP IN A COLD SWEAT.

Nicole Hollander 11-16

By Anthony W. Pereira

THE CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY WRAPPED up its fourth party congress October 15. The message from the 1,800 delegates in Santiago de Cuba, where the congress was held, was defiant and conservative. The old regime will limp on without Soviet largesse. There will be some reforms, such as direct elections for the national assembly, but the political monopoly of the party and the economic model of state ownership and central planning will not be altered. The *líder máximo* Fidel Castro passionately repeated his commitment to "socialism or death," vowing to preserve Cuban Communism "alone, here in this ocean of capitalism that surrounds us."

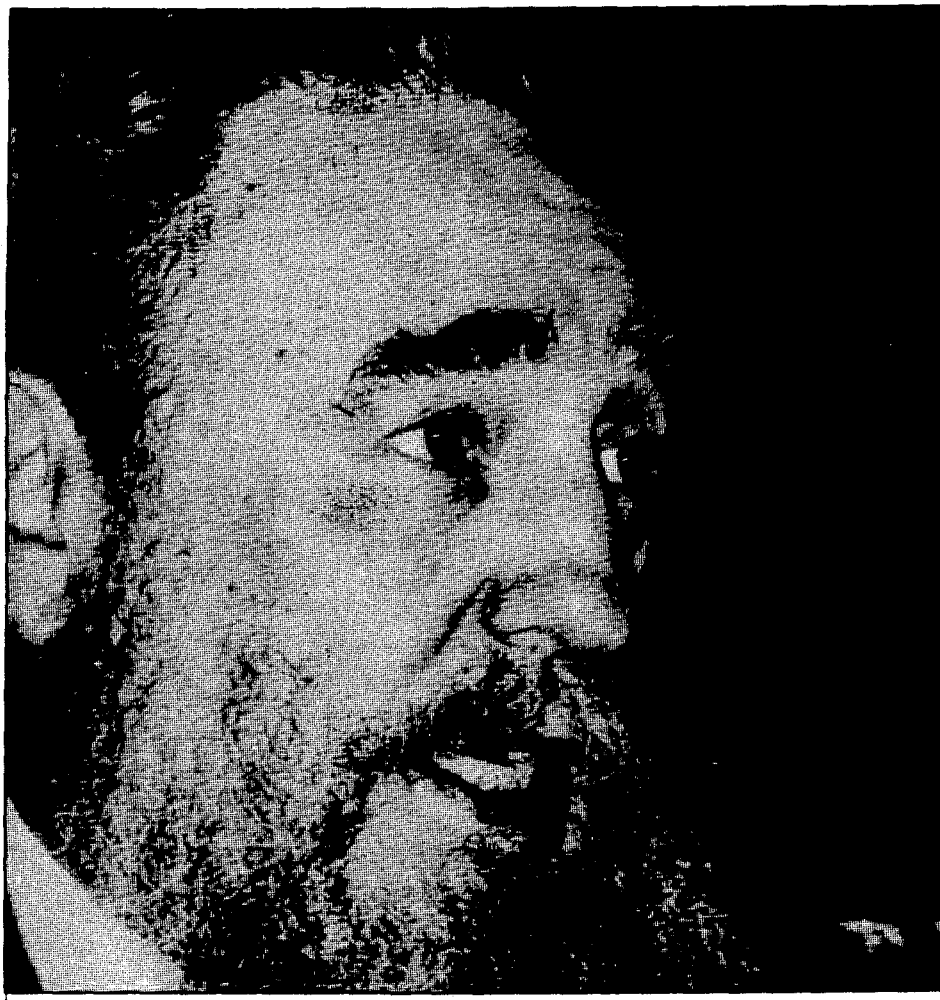
Meanwhile, the ocean of capitalism threatened to engulf Cuba. Corporate America and parts of the Cuban-American exile community are licking their chops at the prospect, which they consider imminent, of the fall of the present regime. Texaco, Nabisco, AT&T, Pan Am and Bacardi are all studying possible investment in a post-Communist Cuba. Cuban-American carpetbaggers are waiting in Miami to return to their homeland in order to reclaim property confiscated by the revolutionary regime, make new deals, organize banks, run for office and generally cash in on what they see as a long-awaited and soon-to-be-realized bonanza.

What the movements on both sides of the Straits of Florida obscure is that Cuba has already opened up its economy to foreign investment and abandoned many of the orthodoxies of state socialism in a desperate scramble for foreign exchange. Far from being inflexible apparatchiks in the Stalinist mold, Cuba's leaders are pragmatic opportunists who have already taken the country a considerable distance from the old Soviet model. They are busily creating a state capitalist society, where markets are tolerated, foreign investment is encouraged, tourists and foreign residents can buy the best of everything, and class inequalities are increasing. Ché Guevara must be rolling in his grave.

For example, Cuba has signed about 50 agreements with foreign companies in the last two years and is presently discussing 100 other possible deals. The tourist sector is particularly active. Eight joint ventures with Canadian and European companies to build 30,000 hotel rooms by 1995 have been established. The investment involves about \$500 million. The foreign investors are guaranteed privileges that would seem generous in any economy. They can repatriate their profits, enjoy management control over their enterprises and even be assured of having non-union workplaces.

Thus, enclaves of private enterprise are expanding within an ostensibly Communist Cuban economy side by side with an extensive and long-tolerated black market. Even in agriculture, about 20 percent of the productive land is still held privately. Cuba is rapidly becoming a two-tiered economy in which a dynamic dollar economy for the privileged sits atop a shortage-ridden and inefficient ration system geared to the subsistence needs of the majority.

Collapse not in the cards: Is Cuba on the verge of collapse? Pundits such as journalist Georgie Anne Geyer, their analyses tinged with wishful thinking, have been



For Castro, it's still "socialism or death"—with a dash of capitalism.

Lonely Cuba bobbles on ocean of capitalism

sounding the death-knell prematurely. The withdrawal of Red Army support from Cuba will not bring the end of the Castro regime, as it did the Eastern European regimes two years ago. Furthermore, the economic impact of reductions in Soviet subsidies on the island have been exaggerated because the

Cuba has opened its economy to foreign investments and abandoned many orthodoxies of state socialism in a desperate scramble for foreign exchange.

size of the subsidies has long been inflated by the CIA. And there is evidence that Cuba will be able to find alternative sources of supplies previously furnished by the Soviet Union. On October 22, for example, Castro was in Mexico negotiating the purchase of oil with Mexican and Venezuelan officials.

Unlike its vanished Eastern European counterparts, the Cuban regime is the product of an authentic revolution that defied the dominant power in the region. Even people critical of the present government in Cuba speak proudly of the defeat of the "imperialists" at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. Furthermore, unlike the Russian and Chinese revolutions, the Cuban revolution was first and foremost nationalist, and only later became Communist. While the revolutionar-

ies gained power in January of 1959, the Communist Party as it now exists was formed in 1965. Only in the early '70s, when economic pressures forced the Cubans into a closer dependency on Moscow, did the Cuban regime begin to resemble the Soviet one in terms of the extent of Communist Party rule. This means that because communism in Cuba was adopted late and at least partly for economic reasons, the present regime is likely to be willing to continue to shed Communist orthodoxies in order to survive.

Future change: Cuba is destined to be transformed still more in the future. The only question is how it will change. Its people are searching for ways to preserve the society's egalitarian social gains—unequaled in Latin America—and at the same time to dynamize the economy by reducing the power of state monopolies and freeing up the political sphere from the rigid control of the Communist Party. The country's leadership is being dragged along in this process. During the recent party congress, several members of Cuban dissident groups such as the Association for the Defense of Political Rights and the Commission for Human Rights and National Reconciliation were arrested. These voices were temporarily silenced, but the existence of many other similar voices in the population is known by the regime.

Unfortunately, the regime's room for maneuver is extremely limited. The biggest obstacle to Cuba's continued move away from Communist orthodoxy, ironically, is the United States. The U.S. embargo, which will be 30 years old next February, has always limited the choices of the Cuban leadership,

forcing it to adhere to one of two foreign models of political and economic development. Yet with the end of the Cold War, there seems little justification in continuing to freeze out Cuba. The Bush administration even insists on maintaining full diplomatic and trade relations with Communist China, despite the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989. Yet no quarter is given to Cuba.

Bush administration policy is based more on party politics than ideology. The right wing of the Miami-based Cuban exile community is a big contributor to the Republican Party. Its most powerful lobby, the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), is extremely influential in Washington and has close ties to Bush's son Jeb, a Miami property developer. CANF's 50,000 members favor the continuation of the embargo because they are pursuing a vendetta against Fidel Castro and because they still yearn to return to—and dominate, as they did in the '50s—a non-Communist Cuba.

CANF, which has an annual budget of \$3 million and which models itself on the pro-Israel lobby, the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), is talking euphorically of its future role in a post-Castro Cuba. Its director, Jorge Mas Canosa, who boasts that he now has more influence in Moscow than Fidel, talks of running for the Cuban presidency in the near future. CANF recently produced a report on the rebuilding of a post-Communist Cuba, featuring the input of such right-wing ideologues as former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick and former State Department official (and confessed criminal) Elliot Abrams. It has established a \$5 million fund for this rebuilding and talks of returning property nationalized by the Cuban regime in the early '60s to its original owners.

But CANF's posturing should not obscure the reality of the Cuban dilemma. While many people in Cuba want some degree of political liberalization and economic revitalization, most do not want to destroy the educational, housing, child care, nutrition and sports programs that have made Cuba a uniquely healthy and egalitarian society in Latin America. CANF's project, the dream of an aging and wealthy minority of Cuban-Americans, threatens those programs. It would in all probability also drag Cuba back to the degradation and subordination of the '50s, when Havana was a "sin city" holiday resort for Americans. The dangers of a post-Castro Cuba being pulled in this direction are real. Anyone who is aware of the plight of post-invasion Panama and Grenada—or the former East Germany—will realize this.

Americans should wake up on the Cuba issue. The fate of a vibrant and creative people is at stake. The present regime is attempting to adapt to the current world economic situation by shedding many of its commitments to state socialism. But Cuba is unlikely to experience genuine political liberalization unless U.S. policy becomes more flexible and less hostile. The CANF project, which seems to be the only one that the Bush administration is willing to contemplate, would be a disaster for Cuba if it is ever implemented. The American people must help ensure that it never is.

Anthony W. Pereira, who recently made a trip to Cuba, is an assistant professor of political science at the New School for Social Research, New York City.

By Susan J. Douglas

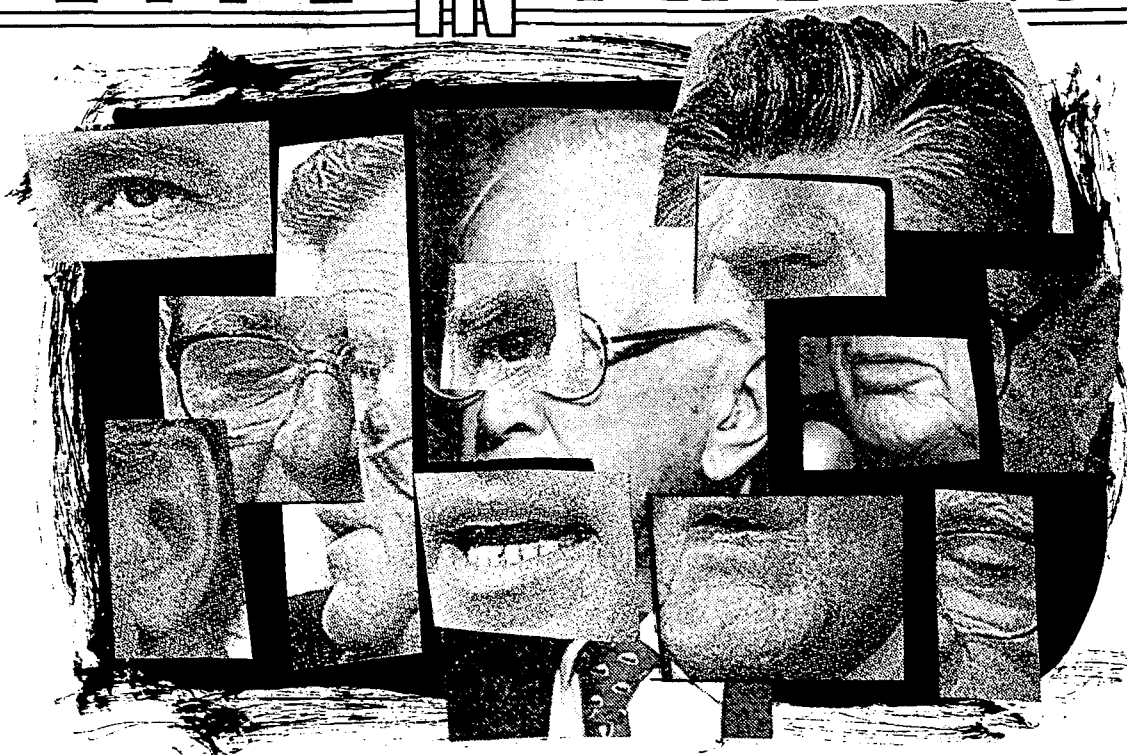
EVER SINCE DAN QUAYLE HAMMERED his gavel on October 15, announcing the 52-48 vote to install Clarence Thomas on the Supreme Court, the news media have sought to perform one of their key functions: provide symbolic closure to this contretemps, as they do with all political conflicts, and move on superficially to the next event.

But this story won't quite go away. It turns out that many women are outraged by the entire fiasco and don't want to let the story, the topic of sexual harassment or their own anger get eclipsed by the incessant barrage of government-generated pronouncements that passes for "news" in our society. So we've been seeing lots of "legacy" stories about the import, consequences and long-term implications of the entire, pathetic process.

Visual illiterates: There has been plenty of discussion about what fatuous, inept and cowardly buffoons the Democrats were during the hearings, so I won't belabor the point. But there is something they *really* must wake up to: we live in a mass-mediated society, and those politicians who fail to understand and exploit television effectively are doomed. The smallest school child knows this. You'd think middle-aged politicians would have a grasp on this cliché by now: after all, the Democrats proudly point to John Kennedy as the first really effective television president.

But think about the Democrats since Kennedy. Johnson was a disaster on television. Carter was too principled, or naive, to manage his media image well. And the best the last two democratic presidential candidates have come up with is "Where's the beef?" and the embarrassingly haunting image of what looked like a munchkin riding on a tank.

So, one important lesson from the Thomas-Hill psychodrama is that the Democrats failed, once again, to adopt an effective media strategy and appeared oblivious about how



Dem media morons and the Hill debacle

POLITICS

pre-existing media stereotypes and conventions would shape people's reactions to the hearings. Because of this crucial failure, more Americans—including women, according to

the polls—came to believe Clarence Thomas over Anita Hill. I'd like to suggest how and why I think this happened.

It is true that the hearings were relatively unmediated; most often, we simply watched or heard the hearings with comparatively little journalistic commentary or interpretation. But it would be a major mistake to think that the media didn't play an important role here. We're already familiar with how the Republicans effectively scheduled the timing of witnesses to their own advantage. But other more subtle factors were at work.

Why did more people, if we are to believe the polls, find Thomas more

credible than Hill? After all, she testified with enormous dignity, restraint and intelligence, and she is a professional woman with impeccable credentials. But the problem with Anita Hill, I'd like to propose, is that she violated certain media expectations about upwardly mobile professional women, and she defied persistent stereotypes about African-American women in particular.

Swimming against the current: Despite some positive changes in imagery, African-American women, especially in sitcoms, continue to be portrayed as more exuberant, earthy, physically expressive and sexually liberated than their white counterparts. The "oh Lordy," "oooh-wee," knee-slapping black woman of television still incorporates some of the elements of the mammy and the minstrel show, albeit in new clothes and more upscale settings. With her knowing smiles and facial expressions, her use of street talk, she suggests that African-American

women are much more comfortable with, even welcoming of, sexual innuendo, discourse and activity.

Now, in stark contrast to this image, Anita Hill, through her own presentation as well as through the testimony of her collaborative witnesses, came off as prim, even prudish. She didn't like to talk about sex, even with her close friends, and we all watched her wince as she described Thomas' overtures.

This kind of stance by a black woman simply doesn't compute for many white Americans; she seemed deviant, suspect, alien to dominant notions of black female sexuality. And because of that, and of the legacy of such representations that all African-American women carry with them and fight, she was testifying not just against Thomas but against a pervasive media portrait of how women like her are supposed to behave. It was hardly an even battle, and the Democrats, because of their cultural ignorance, were no help at all.

In addition, Hill cast herself, as did her close friends, as a very private person who loathes the limelight and is completely uninterested in personal publicity. In an age when fame and public renown are hysterically sought by millions of Americans, when being famous is more important than anything—at times, even more important than being rich—the person not swept up by this desire is anomalous and open to suspicion.

Hill's strangeness on this score

Hill failed to conform to persistent racial stereotypes, while Senate Democrats conformed to their pattern of media ineptness.

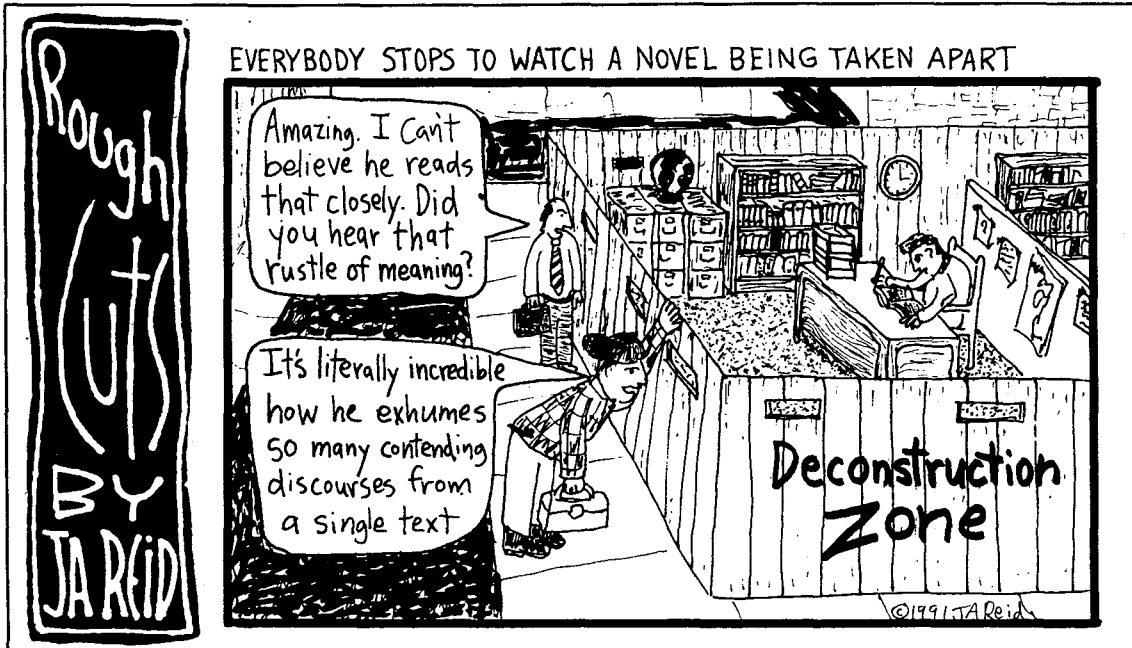
was underlined by the testimony of Thomas' women witnesses. C.J. Alvarez and Phyllis Berry could barely contain their elation at being before a national audience in such a setting. Alvarez especially pulled out all the stops about being a single mom and just an everyday-kind-of-a-gal. She then skillfully—and, of course, without challenge—made the connection between Hill's love of privacy and aloofness, arrogance and untrustworthiness.

TV role models: While Hill carried such cultural baggage with her, she was deep-sixed by a bunch of Democrats without any sense of how to manage a media event. The Republicans took this charge seriously, each one adopting a persona that drew, at different times, from Mike Wallace, Phil Donahue and Maury Povich. Orrin Hatch's brandishing of *The Exorcist* would have done Gerardo's infamous special on satanism proud, and I wouldn't want to be opposite Arlen Specter on *The Peoples' Court*. But the Democrats seemed to forget that anyone watches TV, or has his or her expectations about public performances shaped by the medium.

As a result, Joe Biden seemed closest to emulating Mr. Rogers ("We really, really like you, you brave, sharing witnesses") when he should have been imitating Tommy or Grace Van Owen from *L.A. Law* (wouldn't that have been great?). They failed to cast Anita Hill as a courageous underdog fighting the system (which would have been easy and effective), and they failed to cast themselves as the gutsy guys from the block protecting this woman from a bunch of capricious, mean-spirited bullies. Was it because she is a woman? Because she is black? Because they are dumber than we think? Because they are still terrorized by what they perceive as the ideological hegemony of conservatism in America? Worse yet, all of the above?

Maybe the polls showed that as many women as men believed Thomas over Hill. But there are still many active influential women who are furious and ignited over this issue. As we watched the hearings in frustrated rage, we felt the now familiar ventriloquist response—the desire to move the senators' mouths and put our own words in them—that we feel so frequently when our perspectives are routinely excluded from the public sphere. But also, because women are especially sensitive to how media stereotypes shape public perceptions, we were stupefied to see a bunch of white men for whom those calculations didn't seem to matter at all. They weren't just cowards; they were media morons. And that's one of the things that's killed the Democratic Party in the past and, unless they shape up fast, will do them in again in 1992. ■

Susan J. Douglas teaches at Hampshire College.



The Alchemy of Race and Rights

By Patricia J. Williams
Harvard University Press
263 pp., \$24.95

By Pat Aufderheide

IT'S SO INVIGORATING TO READ THIS book that you want to call up Patricia Williams and ask, by the way, what did you think about the Clarence Thomas nomination? And how about California's new "multicultural" textbooks? Could you please say that part about why affirmative action is so important again, to my friend over here? And do you believe that *Gone with the Wind* sequel?

I'm sure the book gives you insights on how Williams might answer, and it might even illuminate the relevance of Critical Legal Studies—her scholarly bailiwick—to our lives. But the real reason you'd want to call is that, in this part-diary, part-pastiche, part-essay book, Williams creates a persona and a process, both of which are compelling.

The persona is that of a thirty-something black woman professional, immensely competent, bright, and anxious. "Since subject position is everything in my analysis of the law, you deserve to know that it's a bad morning. I am very depressed," she begins. Of course, she has cause. **And justice for some:** Legal

A minority opinion against the status quo

thought, she patiently lays out, assumes clearly-delineated oppositions; universal, transcultural truths; and objective voices that speak it. These fictions are convenient tools for the powerful. They help not only to control the less powerful but to label them emotional, irrational, immature and unbalanced if they complain.

In searching for explanations and connections, she comes up with answers that go to the heart of the legal system and its suppositions.

LAW

Law students learn how not to ask the obvious, among other ways, by taking exams that crudely insult women, blacks, and the poor with hypothetical problems. In case students don't get the point, test questions tell them to ignore social justice issues. As a result, says Williams, students "devalue their own and others' humanity for the sake of a grade."

Williams is counter-attacking here. She wants to take the legal profession's professional codes off the altar and hold them up as the conventions they really are. And she wants to find

the parallels and overlaps between the profession's world views and the wider world. A prisoner—a sexual offender—asks to be allowed to be castrated, although the state finds the punishment barbaric; if the issue is merely his right to choose, has a public issue been turned into one of private contract? She sees the same public-into-private pattern in the promise of the late John Tower that if confirmed as Secretary of Defense he would quit drinking, in a quid pro quo with society—sobriety purchased "for the low, low price of our national defense."

Rhetoric meets reality: It is in racial issues that the deadly intersection of rhetoric with reality is most cruelly marked here. Many of the examples are personal, starting with the purchase contract of her own great-grandmother, a document that begins a discussion of property rights. They go on to stories like the one in which Williams couldn't shop at a New York Benetton, presumably because the clerk, who refused to buzz her in, found her face too menacing; and several teaching horror stories in which her students, colleagues and dean find

her social framing of legal issues to be disturbingly polemic. (The dean unfailingly offers her sherry, though.)

Race boldly conditions her own life and work, but gender and class also interweave in these intersections of legal rhetoric and social reality. A law protects the newborn child of a homeless woman from the mother's inability to care for it, she notes, but does not protect her chance to get a home or a job. A sign on a fashionable downscale local boutique says "Sale! Two-dollar overcoats. No bums, no booze"—thus guaranteeing that those who really need them can't have them, and protecting the fashionableness of the downscale image. Her students don't think these are relevant issues to law school.

Williams imagines a legal language and process that recognizes social rights and sees even private property as part of a reciprocally responsible social fabric.

Polar bears and food stamps: Although what she has to say is enormously interesting and disturbing, equally important is the way Williams says it. At the outset, in a tongue-in-cheek indulgence in post-modernist jargon, she says she is carving out a new genre of legal writing, one that includes what if you were an economist you might call law's externalities. "I hope that the gaps in my own writing will be self-

consciously filled by the reader," she writes. "To this end, I exploit all sorts of literary devices, including parody, parable, and poetry."

It works. The reason why you think you know Patricia Williams so well after reading this book is that she involves you from the start in rethinking our society's garden-variety absurdities. The arguments flow from law to journalism to street experience to family history and back again, building from particulars and felt experience. Not only are cool lawyerisms absent, they are spurned.

Living with her through the struggle for expression, you begin to see how crazy-making it is to try to talk outside the rules that erase your experience. You can begin to feel what she's talking about with the phrase "self-regard"—the ability to see yourself independently from the demeaning gaze of people who think they're superior.

When her sister, fed up with rhetoric, demands to know what the book is "about," Williams answers shortly, "Howard Beach, polar bears, and food stamps." *The Alchemy of Race and Rights* is a book that makes connections between these and other outrageous, seemingly disparate elements of a society divided against itself. Just reading something so elegantly passionate is a small act of healing.

© 1991 Pat Aufderheide

Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women

By Susan Faludi
Crown Publishers, 544 pp., \$24.00

By Helen Shortal

THE LAST DECADE HAS SEEN A powerful counterassault on women's rights, a backlash, an attempt to retract the handful of small and hard-won victories that the '70s feminist movement managed to win for women. So asserts journalist Susan Faludi in the introduction to her massive and extensively footnoted tome, *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*. "This counterassault ... stands the truth boldly on its head and proclaims that the very steps that have elevated women's position have actually led to their downfall."

Take, for example, the much-circulated "news" that career women over 30 are miserable about their slim prospects for marriage and a family. Faludi traces this widely reported story back to its single source—a lone, unpublished Yale-Harvard study that used a limited number of households and a dubious mathematical model for extrapolating projections from women's responses.

In February of 1986, a Connecticut newspaper mentioned the Yale-Harvard study without disclosing that its own creators had warned the re-

How what isn't so becomes common sense

porter that its data was provisional. The Associated Press quickly picked up the story. Within weeks, the three TV networks and publications like the *New York Times* and *Newsweek* were reporting on the "marriage crunch" among women who placed

FEMINISM

their careers ahead of their family plans. A myth had been born.

Later that year, reports Faludi, Census Bureau demographer Jeanne Moorman did some number-crunching of her own. Working with data from 13.4 million households (rather than the 600,000 households of the Yale-Harvard study), Moorman's figures showed that single women over the age of 30 had a 60 percent chance of marriage—and that college-educated women were more likely to marry than women with high school degrees alone. So much for the notion that careerism sends you down the lonely road to spinsterhood.

Still, when Moorman attempted to publicize the statistical errors of the Yale-Harvard study, she garnered none of the page-one coverage that the Yale-Harvard researchers had enjoyed. Moreover, the Reagan ad-

ministration quickly ordered Moorman to abandon her own study on women and marriage—and to concentrate instead on a study depicting the abuse of the welfare system by poor women.

According to Faludi, the Yale-Harvard study was right about one thing: career women were indeed distraught—though not about marriage. In the 1983 Lifeprint study and the 1990 Virginia Slim Opinion Poll of Women, among others, Faludi reports that researchers had identified the primary cause of depression among women: poor career prospects. Indeed, one study found that there were actually two significant causes of female depression: "low social status and marriage."

The "marriage crunch" brouhaha is a classic example of the backlash in action, says Faludi. In a nutshell, American women continue to suffer from the slings and arrows of outrageous chauvinism. Yet somehow, women's suffering is attributed to

American women still suffer sexist slings and arrows.

feminism, rather than sexism.

How can this happen? Well, Faludi's basic premise is that any significant improvement in the status of American women spurs a concerted attempt by right-wing forces to roll back this progress. In support of this thesis, one section of *Backlash* chronicles the cyclic, advance-and-retreat history of the women's movement since its inception during the mid-1850s. For example, Faludi reports that the happy-homemaker ideology of the 1950s was the psychological component of a backlash that forced women out of the high-paying factory jobs they had acquired during World War II. When women began to enjoy freedom and autonomy through their jobs, it was time to herald the joys of the nuclear family—and to resurrect the dread specters of "brain womb conflict" and "hermaphroditism."

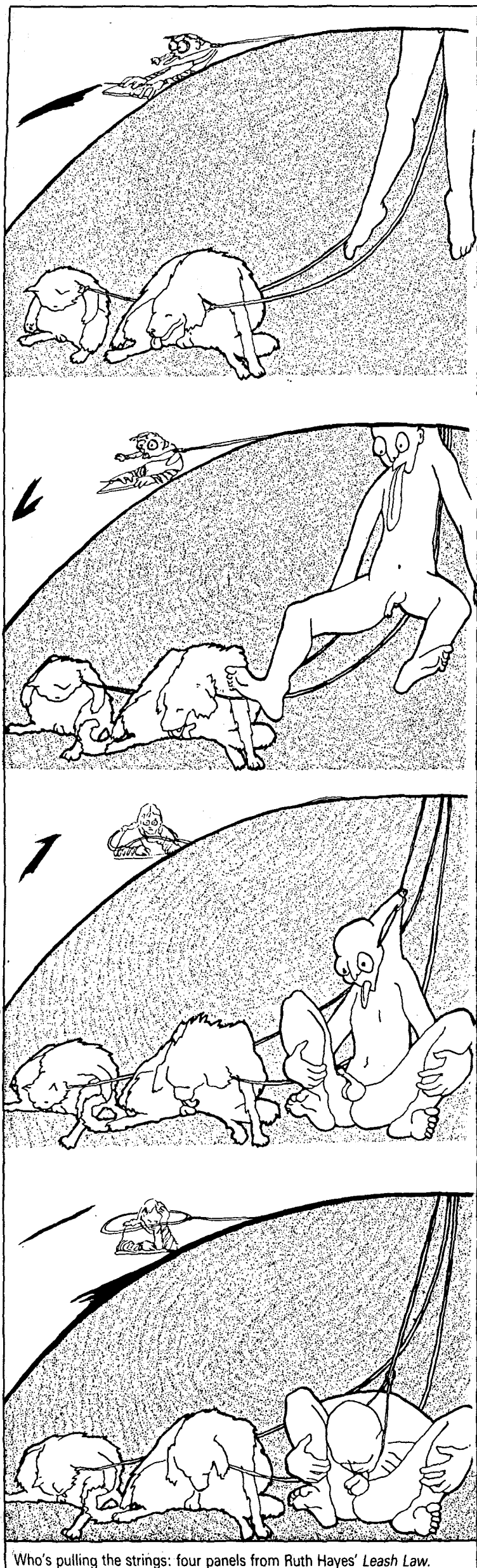
In Faludi's analysis, reactionary thinkers have done their best to spread the notion that women—especially feminist women—are to blame for America's economic and social ills. Working women have provided a highly visible target for the anger of American men, whose earning power and quality of life are steadily eroding. As the American economy hit the skids, the women's movement provided a handy scapegoat for the excesses of corporate capitalism. When, for example, a news story linked rising unemployment rates to the rising number of

women in the work force, big business could handily escape the blame for its reckless profit mongering and inhumane treatment of workers.

Backlash also focuses on society's pervasive tendency to promote the belief that women are fundamentally weak and unsound, both physically and mentally. Research studies and public discourse on infertility, for example, focus almost exclusively on deficiencies in the female reproductive tract (especially in career women over the age of 30), though male infertility is at least as common. And one need look no further than the recent Hill-Thomas Senate hearings to note the easy acceptance for allegations of female instability.

One of the most chilling sections of *Backlash* is Faludi's examination of self-help books like *Women Who Love Too Much* by Robin Norwood, which adapts a torqued version of the "surrender and win" principles in *Alcoholics Anonymous*. Like the alcoholic, the woman who loves too much is counseled that she is powerless over her problem. But unlike the alcoholic, whose acceptance of powerlessness facilitates a booze-free life, the woman who loves too much isn't encouraged to leave any and every abusive relationship—but rather to seek "spiritual uplift" and serenity in her tormented situation. This chapter also contains one of Faludi's most cogent one-liners about the blaming of women: "[Norwood's]

Continued on page 22



Who's pulling the strings: four panels from Ruth Hayes' *Leash Law*.

Moving pictures at your fingertips

By Karen Rosenberg

THESE DAYS THE FLIP BOOK IS generally considered kiddie fare, if it is considered at all. What's a flip book? Well, the Germans call it *daumenkino*, thumb cinema, because it's a form of animation: a series of images on a bound stack of paper that seem to move when you riffle the pages. Its origins are obscure, but it was patented in 1868 and became popular at the end of the 19th century when various parlor toys with strange names like "zoetrope" and "phenakistoscope" were in fashion among adults as well as children.

In this century, flip books have served instructional purposes—demonstrating how to play piano chords, how to improve your baseball swings and soccer kicks, and how to put on a condom. (*Proud Pete*, published by Population Dynamics in Seattle and apparently no longer in print, stars a penis with a smiling head who rolls a condom over himself.) I've seen flip books used on a commercially-produced birthday card and for advertising purposes. (Under advertising, I include a flip book I saw in a Berlin antique shop with photos of Hitler delivering a speech.) But mostly they're a form of entertainment. Maybe you've come across the cheap paper prints of Disney sequences that are sold in flip-book form at children's museums.

Alongside these flip books with few artistic pretensions is the more recent genre of flip books by artists. Enterprising and ambitious avant-gardists are always on the look-out for forms that are considered trivial and unworthy, so they can shock audiences by using them in Significant Cultural Artifacts. While safe artists concern themselves with already-canonized trash, risk-takers are often rewarded with controversy—and even negative publicity is a form of fame.

Not just flippant: Flip book artists have received some recognition in avant-garde circles. Their works are sold at stores (like Printed Matter on Wooster Street in lower Manhattan) that specialize in artists' books and at major animation festivals.

The 1980s continued a movement toward flip books with ideas, if not explicit messages. The Real Comet Press in Seattle, a small publisher, put out George Griffin's *Urban Renewal* (1989), a critique of yuppies and the gentrification they engender, and Ken Brown's *Adam and Eve-olution* (1989), a somber look at the Garden in the nuclear age. Transformations—that favorite device of flip

book animators—are put to political effect in works like these. Part of their punch lies in the contrast between the big social issue and the ostensibly trivial form.

Since the '70s, women such as Joanna Priestly, Kathy Rose and Lisa Crafts have produced flip books, sometimes for sale, sometimes as studies for their animated films. And

ART

it's a woman, Ruth Hayes, who—with 12 titles in print—has become the foremost professional flip-book maker in the U.S. and perhaps in the world. Considering the fact that women often find it hard to get taken seriously, it still takes guts for women artists to expend their energy on a genre like the flip book which also doesn't get taken seriously.

Artists (and others) who are insecure about their status in the social hierarchy are often more hesitant to admit an attraction to lower-class kitsch for fear of being considered lower class or kitschy. It's a mark of American women's recent successes that they dare to deviate from the kosher career choices. It requires a kind of class confidence to delve into the world of childish or déclassé junk.

From the California Institute of the Arts, where she is currently studying film, Hayes told me by phone how she came to concentrate on flip books. After graduating from Harvard in 1978, Hayes put two of her short animated films on the festival circuit. They made the rounds and then sat on the shelf, since shorts are rarely shown theatrically.

Getting the business: She turned to flip books as a way of getting her artwork to the public. Beginning in 1979, she sold her flip books through a Christmas store that specialized in artists' works. Later she distributed her books on consignment to artists' book stores in Los Angeles, New York and Seattle.

As buyers for other stores saw her work and readers wrote to the address on the back of each volume, her business grew. A three-year job with The Real Comet Press taught her more about the book industry, and by 1987 she was selling 10,000

The major dialogue in Hayes' work is between the body and those who'd like to repress it.

copies a year of her various flip books. In 1988, she licensed six titles to The Real Comet Press and contracted to produce two flip books per year for them.

The business side of Hayes' biography is clearly relevant to her creative work. Her earlier flip books reveal her training in animation, for they obey the standard rules: make the action simple and provide enough images to make the movement smooth and easy to perceive. A sensuous and traditionally female mouth extends a tongue in *Hot Licks* (1980). Into space? More likely into the reader's/viewer's mouth.

A tongue on a television set makes a similar outward motion and snatches up a child in *T.V. Dinner* (1981). Both books end with a small, discreet smile of satisfaction—one sensuous and the other gluttonous. In *Gluttony* (1985), two humans repeatedly unroll their long tongues in each other's direction until one swallows the other's head.

But Hayes' experience in book publishing led, I think, to her perception of flip books as more than animation on paper. Her later work exploits the possibilities of the print medium. In 1988, she published *Birthrite*, a flip book with a text culled from sources as diverse as *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* and Martin Buber's *Tales of the Hasidim*. Most of her subsequent works pack the frame with so much information that they must be paged as well as flipped. It's this breaking of the usual fixed categories—and the cross-breeding that results—that I admire most about her creativity.

Trinity of synthesis: Hayes explained her method well in a lecture given to the Society for Animation Studies conference in Ottawa in 1990:

Birthrite, which I made in 1988, has two lines of writing which move above and below the drawings. You can't read the texts and look at the animation simultaneously. You have to go back and read each text by itself at a slower pace. When you read the texts, the artwork moves on the periphery of your vision. If you stop to look at a single image, the text fragments on that page become captions. When you look at the animation after reading the texts, your memory synthesizes the three elements into a complete experience of the book.

This reliance on memory can be seen in her later works, which make less use of the printed word. My eyes could not catch what was happening in *Paranoia* (1989), even with repeated fast flips. I had to "read" slowly to see that the little yellow flying monsters which a mad-looking military man is shooting at grow out of his own head. You can blame this on my thumb, the thickness of the paper or the small number of in-betweens (the images between major movements). Or you can say that this isn't my fault or the book's but an invitation to find a new way of

handling a bound stack of paper.

In *Paranoia*, an open book falls toward the brown-shirted figure. Your fast-flipping thumb must adjust its motion to satisfy your mind's curiosity about the book's title and author (*Democracy in America*, by de Tocqueville). Hayes' work cautions the modern reader against imitating the regularity of a film projector.

Hayes exploits other advantages of the flip book format. While film is confined to images of invariable dimensions because it must fit through standardized projectors, the flip book frame can be fluid and shifting.

In *Leash Law* (1989), a woman—Hayes' self-portrait—sketches in one corner, jettisoning blotches of color that become the curved border of a world. But when a cat, dog and man in that world lean over and lick their genitals, both the illustrator and her male character are yanked from the picture. In short, the "off-frame" illustrator turns out to be onstage—implicated in and guilty of the breaking of a societal taboo.

Heavy topics, seeing the light:

In her unabashed exploration of the body, Hayes stands within a tradition of women animators in the U.S. that began in the '70s. Susan Pitt's film *Asparagus*, with its clear reference to the smells of piss and the shapes of shit, the dancing penises in Mary Beams' short film *Seedreel* and Ruth Hayes' own languid journey around a female and male nude in *Body Sketches* challenged and changed the permissible content of "cartoons." *Leash Law*, like many classics of feminist animation, gets light images to carry weighty implications. In this book, as in *Birthrite*, *Paranoia* and her 1990 *Flip Book of the Dead*, Hayes doesn't illustrate a text but employs it as a jumping-off point.

The major dialogue in Hayes' works is between the body and those who'd like to repress it. And unusually, unexpectedly, her bad guys are the less interesting half of this opposition. The child-killing television in *T.V. Dinner*, the enraged male sharp-shooter in *Paranoia* and a

money-hungry jingoistic and militaristic preacher in *The Flipbook of Revelations* (1987) are familiar enemies. But when Hayes enters the realm of the flesh, she's generally on less conventional territory.

The "horny" frog in *Frogs in Heat* (1983) is a visual pun, but Hayes isn't a dirty jokester: once again, she's fascinated with the way a tongue tickles, as an excited amphibian licks his/her mate. In *Animal Husbandry* (1986), she represents the lower half of the body—a part we have so much trouble controlling—as a blissful dog or a snarling wolf. Is it a wild beast or a domesticated pet?

In *Roses are Red, Violets are Blue, My Cat's in Heat and I'm Thinking of You* (1990), a drawn cat turns over sensuously as a woman, photographed in close-up, pulls up her fishnet stockings. The pages are printed on both sides, so you see both the left and right leg from painted toenails to thigh. Although I find black fishnets and painted toenails stereotypical and all-too-easy

signs of female sexuality, I like the way a cat rubbing a high-heeled shoe represents and heightens the erotic in this flip book.

Perhaps it's because of her directness that Hayes' eroticism has an effect—on me, at least. I'm partly surprised: I don't expect a "child's toy" to be so adult. And I'm pleased at my own surprise, for the avant-garde usually tries to jolt more than it succeeds.

When I compare her flip books to those that come out of the conceptual art tradition—like *Sheherezade* (1988) and *This Book is Extremely Receptive* (1989), both by artist Janet Zweig in collaboration with writer Holly Anderson—I'm struck by the emotionality, the heat of Hayes' work. Zweig and Anderson also make books with text that should be read as well as flipped. And they share themes with Hayes: the media (*This Book is Extremely Receptive* contains dialogue from television shows) and gender (as Hayes noted in her 1990 lecture, Zweig enlarges

and crops the word "Sheherezade" until it becomes "Sheher, "heher" and "he").

But once I got the concept behind those two books—infinite repetition in *Sheherezade* and the communication of miscommunication in *This Book is Extremely Receptive*—I felt no great need to go back to them; the writing and artwork were not all that rich or moving. (A clever and original concept is often more engaging than its realization.) But despite Hayes' recourse to over-used symbols, I find my hand reaching again for her flip books—my eyes get a little more out of them each time.

Ruth Hayes' 12 flip books are all available from The Real Comet Press, 1463 East Republican #126, Seattle, WA 98112, (206) 328-1801, and are also distributed by Inland Book Co., 140 Commerce St., East Haven, CT 06512, (800) 243-0138, at \$4.95 each.

Karen Rosenberg is a writer living in Vienna, Austria.

Marvel: Five Fabulous Decades of the World's Greatest Comics

By Les Daniels
Harry N. Abrams, 287 pp., \$45.00

By Mark G. Judge

WOODSTOCK, THE VIETNAM War and *Laugh-In* are some of the things from the '60s that I'm too young to remember, but the cultural

COMICS

benchmark that most makes me want to push my birthdate back is the Marvel Age of Comics, 1961-70. As Les Daniels points out in his heavy, lavishly illustrated and well-written book, *Marvel: Five Fabulous Decades of the World's Greatest Comics*, "[a] virtual army of new [Marvel] characters sprang up in the '60s and became giants in the field [of comics]; their combined strength turned a moribund industry around." Indeed, while early '60s era launched the New Frontier, it also saw the birth of the Fantastic Four, Daredevil, the Incredible Hulk and, of course, Spider-Man, who became one of the most popular comic book characters in history.

These characters were created by writer editor Stan Lee and artist Jack Kirby, two men of unique storytelling genius who almost singlehandedly rehabilitated the comic book after what Daniels calls the period of "comics in crisis" (1950-61). By 1960 the comics industry had suffered a rash of layoffs and artistic burn-out, not to mention a Senate probe inspired by Dr. Frederick Wertham's hysterical 1954 book *Seduction of the Innocent* ("a compendium of rabble-rousing half truths," according to Daniels), which claimed that comic books encouraged everything from homosexuality to criminal pathology.

Also, by 1960 comics were too

When comics sang a different 'toon

simplistic for post-war America. Daniels, the author of a previous history of comics and several fantasy novels, notes that the aftermath of the Korean War made the cartoonish grandeur of heroes like Superman obsolete, and this is where Stan Lee picked up the pieces. Lee, a veteran of Marvel from 1939 (where he started at age 16!), created a new breed of super-hero—one who according to Lee's introduction of *Marvel*, "despite his super powers ... still has money troubles, dandruff, domestic

problems, allergy attacks, self-doubts and unexpected defeats."

Hamlet, the teenage acrobat: This led to Lee and Kirby's groundbreaking creation of *The Fantastic Four* in 1961, an unexpected smash that signaled a shift from the one-dimensional, cardboard do-gooders of the previous 20 years. Lee and Kirby started getting fan mail—much of it from baby-boomers and students. More titles and characters followed: *Daredevil*, *Thor*, *The Avengers*, *Iron Man* and the biggest hit of all—

Spider-Man, the neurotic, unsure teen hero who, according to Daniels, "has delivered more soliloquies than Hamlet." Fans continued to respond, the average age of comic book readers inched upward and Lee and Kirby's creative output soared. The Marvel renaissance was underway.

It lasted almost 10 years, and ended when Jack "King" Kirby acrimoniously left Marvel for its main competitor, DC Comics, in 1970. Daniels recounts Kirby's frustration with the attention Stan Lee received (as it was often at the expense of Marvel's brilliant artwork), and weighs the evidence for retroactively naming Kirby rather than Lee the genius behind Marvel's success. "Lee and Kirby worked as a team," Daniels notes. "Each of them has done splendid work without the other, yet the bulk of the achievements for which each will be remembered occurred during their collaboration." Two years after Kirby cleaned out his desk, Stan Lee became Marvel's publisher and passed the editorial reins to a new generation.

With the loss of its two revolution-

The cartoonish grandeur of Superman gave way to that neurotic teenager, Spider-Man.

ary stylists, Marvel in the '70s looked a lot like the Dallas Cowboys after Tom Landry got fired. A rash of new editors did brief stints in the "Bullpen"—Lee's euphemism for Marvel's New York offices—and new titles sprang up constantly. The trouble was, with the exception of *Conan the Barbarian* and *X-Men*, most of the new comics stank. Marvel bumped and sputtered its way through the decade, coming up with

many a short-lived new hero, and managed to crawl into the '80s with many titles floundering and the old classics diminished by poor writing and often abysmal art.

In the last decade Marvel has managed to cut most of its losses and adapted to newer tastes and now sells more than 8 million comic books a month. But most of the old magic is gone. Many titles are well-written and tastefully drawn, but the stories lack narrative simplicity, bold color combinations and contagious humor—all once earmarks that separated "Mighty Marvel" from the rest of the pack. The bullpen sometimes comes up with plot lines that crowd out the artist's panel space and would confuse anyone under 20. Graphic violence is in, and the editors for the most part adhere to the neo-realism begun in 1986 when DC Comics produced the seminal postmodern Batman "graphic novel," *The Dark Knight Returns*.

Still, one fabulous decade of the world's greatest comics isn't bad, and Daniels' smart, savvy history will be hard to put down for aging Marvelites who still dig through their closets occasionally for the elusive *Silver Surfer* #1 they bought when they were 12. This big, beautiful book made me feel a lot better about spending all those afternoons sprawled on my floor with my older brother's copies of *Spider-Man* and the *Fantastic Four*.

"Despite condescending conventional wisdom," Daniels writes, "the imaginative world of comic books has always attracted the most intelligent kids: the introverted readers and dreamers who have fantasies of acquiring brawn to match their brains. And the Marvel heroes, with their sudden physical transformations and endless personal problems, spoke to the hopes and fears of adolescents everywhere."

Mark G. Judge was last seen fleeing from Galactus in *Fantastic Four* #49.



Backlash

Continued from page 19

book asks why so many women choose abusive men, but not why there are so many abusive men to choose from."

Faludi devotes the final section of *Backlash* to women's health issues, including an exami-

nation of women's steadily eroding reproductive rights. She finds—surprise!—that the alleged concern for fetal rights is a thinly veiled attempt to curtail (i.e., punish) female sexual freedom and to disguise the real source of social problems. Blaming poor black women for the urban "crack baby epidemic," for example, is a handy way to ignore the health care

crisis among poor Americans. Faludi cites one study that finds a lack of prenatal medical care to be even more damaging to a fetus than drug use by the mother during pregnancy.

Backlash, in short, is a comprehensive and much-needed effort at spin control for both the embattled feminist movement and for all

American women. If you're looking for the answers to Freud's so-called "woman question," don't believe what you read—unless it's a copy of *Backlash*. ■

Helen Shortal is a journalist and critic who writes frequently about gender and culture.

The Adventures of a Huge Mouth, by Peter Hannan



C A L E N D A R

NEW YORK

November 9-December 18

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL

Saturday, Nov. 9—First annual Vito Marcantonio Conference—The Multicultural Curriculum: Recovering the Progressive Tradition, with speakers Juliet Ucelli, Silvio Torres-Saillant, and Gerald Meyer, co-sponsored by the Vito Marcantonio Forum, 9 a.m.-4 p.m.; \$15, \$10 low-income.

Bruce Kayton, Radical Walking Tour of Greenwich Village (meets at the arch at Washington Square Park), 1 p.m.; \$6.

Thursday, Nov. 14—Boris Kagarlitsky, Perestroika, Society, and the Limits to Capitalization in the Soviet Union (lecture), 8 p.m.; \$8.

Friday, Nov. 15—Boris Kagarlitsky, Perestroika, Society, and the Limits to Capitalization in the Soviet Union (3-day intensive seminar), 6-9:30 p.m.; \$195 (includes previous evening's lecture).

Saturday, Nov. 16—Boris Kagarlitsky, continuation of seminar on Perestroika, Society, and the Limits to Capitalization in the Soviet Union, 10 a.m.-5 p.m.

Sunday, Nov. 17—Boris Kagarlitsky, continuation of seminar on Perestroika, Society, and the Limits to Capitalization in the Soviet Union, 11 a.m.-3 p.m.

Mark Whitecage (concert), 5 p.m.; \$5.

Friday, Nov. 22—Pot-luck dinner (bring a dish and a friend), 6:30 p.m.; free.

Sunday, Dec. 1—Oswaldo Razo, Fantasmas Panamenos Panamanian Ghosts (art opening; on view through Jan. 24), 4 p.m.; free.

Monday, Dec. 2—Luciana Castellina, 1992 and Left Politics in Europe (3-day intensive seminar), 6 p.m.; \$145 (includes public lecture, 8 p.m.; lecture only, \$8).

Tuesday, Dec. 3—Luciana Castellina, continuation of seminar on 1992 and Left Politics in Europe, 6-9:30 p.m.

Wednesday, Dec. 4—Luciana Castellina, continua-

tion of seminar on 1992 and Left Politics in Europe, 6-9:30 p.m.

Friday, Dec. 6—Peter Kwong, Race, Immigration and the Municipal Budget (lecture), 7 p.m.; \$6.

Tuesday, Dec. 10—Marilyn Clement, Organizing for Health Care: A Slide Show from Physicians for a National Health Plan (lecture slide show), 8 p.m.; \$6.

Friday, Dec. 13—William Kunstler, The Rise and Fall of the Bill of Rights (lecture), 7 p.m.; \$6.

Wednesday, Dec. 18—Pot-luck dinner (bring a dish and a friend), 6:30 p.m.; free.

Unless specified, all events take place at The New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks below Canal St. between Church St. and Broadway), New York, NY 10013. Scholarships are available for low-income people. For more information, call (212) 941-0332.

BOSTON

November 16

FROM OCCUPATION TO APARTHEID: ISRAEL, SOUTH AFRICA AND 'THE NEW WORLD ORDER': A conference organized by the Middle East Justice Network and co-sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, the ANC (Boston) and many others. Come hear speakers discuss the struggles to end South African apartheid and the Israeli occupation, and the methods being used against these struggles. Speakers include Noam Chomsky, Jane Hunter, Edward Said and Ron Walters. Location Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Room 10-250, at 77 Massachusetts Ave. in Cambridge, Mass. Registration is \$10 in advance, \$15 at the door. To register in advance, send check to MEJN, P.O. Box 558, Cambridge, MA 02238. For more information, call (617) 666-8061.

CHICAGO

November 8-11

Join Cornel West, U.S. Congressman Bernie Sanders, Nancy Riche (President, New Democratic Party of Canada) and Jo-Ann Mort (Communications Director, ACTWU) at a discussion of "Democratic Socialism in a Post-Communist World." Nov. 8 at 7:30 p.m., Mundelein College, Sky Auditorium, 6363 N. Sheridan Rd. It is the opening event of the Democratic Socialists of America 1991 National Convention, and is co-sponsored by the Midwest Radical Scholars Conference.

Join Michael Eric Dyson, Irving Howe, Jose LaLuz, Roberta Lynch, Christine Riddiough and others at the Democratic Socialists of America National Convention: Saturday, Nov. 9-Monday, Nov. 11 at the Allerton Hotel, 701 N. Michigan. Observers are welcome. (\$15 day observer fee includes all convention materials.)

November 10

Salute three contemporary heroes: Philip Agee, Susan Gzesh, Howard Saffold. And celebrate the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights. Sunday, Nov. 10, at the Ambassador West Hotel, 4:30 p.m. Sponsored by the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, a civil liberties watchdog and advocacy organization. Call (312) 939-0675 for information.

SAN FRANCISCO

November 9-10

"Don't Pay for Occupation," a Palestine Solidarity Committee national conference. Nov. 9-10, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA. Admission: \$20 regular; \$10 limited income. For information contact PSC, (415) 861-1552.

EVANSTON, IL

November 17

Tikkun Mid-West Mini-Conference: An afternoon and evening with Tikkun editor Michael Lerner. Should aid or loan guarantees to Israel be linked to progress in the peace process? Why are Democrats and the progressive forces in such bad shape? What are the tasks of Jewish progressives in American politics? Plus small group discussions. A chance to meet others who share your values and concerns. Sunday, Nov. 17, 1:30-9:30 p.m. at the Jewish Reconstructionist Congregation, 303 Dodge Ave., Evanston, IL. Incomes under \$12,000/yr.: \$20; \$12-25,000/yr.: \$35; \$25-50,000/yr.: \$45; above \$50,000/yr.: \$65. Send checks to Tikkun, c/o Tony Frank, 1208 Florence Ave., Evanston, IL 60202.

SIGNS OF CHANGE

The Crossroads Fund Celebrates its 10th Anniversary

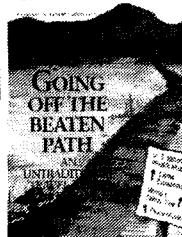


FRIDAY, NOV 22, 1991, 7 PM
PARK WEST, 322 W ARMITAGE, CHICAGO

Special guest emcee:
Cook County Commissioner Danny K. Davis
Dance to the music of the International Uppers.
Ethnic edibles. Silent auction of fine photographs.

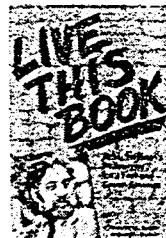
General admission \$35. For information and tickets: 312.227.7676.
The Crossroads Fund is a source of funding for progressive organizations throughout the Chicago metropolitan area working for peace, equality, and economic justice.

Insight For The Progressive Mind



GOING OFF THE BEATEN PATH: An Untraditional Travel Guide to the U.S. Mary Davis

Year round guide includes wildlife refuges, urban nature projects, biking trails, museums and vegetarian restaurants. "...for those cynical moments when one doubts that anything ever changes." --*Utne Reader* 470 pages \$15.95



LIVE THIS BOOK: Abbie Hoffman's Philosophy for a Free and Green America by Ted Becker, Ph.D. and Tony Dodson

Shows how Hoffman's life as a political satirist was akin to that of Mark Twain and Charlie Chaplin, while his political philosophy is heir to Jefferson, Emerson and Thoreau. 117 pages \$8.95

A JUST AND LASTING PEACE: The U.S. Peace Movement from the Cold War to Desert Storm by Roger C. Peace III Provides the "real story" behind CIA and U.S. military involvement in Nicaragua, El Salvador, S. Africa and the Persian Gulf. Takes the reader into the heart of the campaign for human rights. "...ambitious, comprehensive, and action-oriented." --*New York News Day* 370 pages \$14.95

Noble Press Titles are available at fine bookstores or order toll-free 800-486-7737. Free shipping on orders of two or more books. Call for your free catalog.

HELP WANTED

COMMUNITY JOBS: The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. Join over 50,000 job-seekers in reading a unique monthly publication containing more than 200 new job listings (in Environment, Arts, International, Health, Youth, Civil Rights, Housing, Human Services, etc.). Featuring informative articles, book reviews, resource lists, profiles of non-profit organizations and the people who found them. Contact: ACCESS, 50 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, (617) 720-5627.

DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR for Witness for Peace, a national, non-profit, grassroots, faith-based organization working for peace and justice in Central America. Fundraising responsibilities include direct mail, major donors and grant proposals. Salary \$19,250 yr. plus benefits. Send resume to Witness for Peace, 2201 P St., N.W., Washington, DC 20037. Deadline for application, Nov. 15, 1991.

UNION ORGANIZER. Rapidly growing, progressive local seeks organizers for statewide projects in Louisiana and Texas organizing service employees (nursing homes, school support workers, etc.). Pay \$9,000 to \$14,000 a year, benefits include employer-paid health coverage. Women and people of color encouraged to apply. Send a resume, names of three references, and a cover letter to Nina Schulman, Local 100, Service Employees International Union AFL-CIO, 5177 Greenwell Springs Rd., Baton Rouge, LA 70806, (504) 923-3102.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZER needed for national environmental organization. Responsibilities include publicizing toxic chemical use, working with local organizations and activists concerned with toxic problems, promoting the reduction of toxic chemicals use through public education, community pressure and the media, and identifying facilities violating the "right to know" law. Qualifications include community organizing experi-

C L A S S I F I E D S

ence and knowledge of toxic issues. Three years relevant experience, excellent verbal, written and interpersonal skills. Salary \$23,500 plus benefits and liberal vacation leave. Send cover letter, resume to: Box M, EAF, 6930 Carroll Avenue, Suite 600, Takoma Park, MD 20912. No phone calls, please. EEO AA.

PUBLICATIONS

QUEERS! Gay Community News—For nearly two decades, GCN has been a national forum for lesbian and gay life and liberation. GCN provides the kind of probing, insightful news, analysis and entertainment coverage that makes it "the source for up-to-date weekly coverage of lesbian and gay politics and culture nationwide." (Richard Burns, Director, New York Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center). With articles ranging from queers in the military to television's first gay cartoon kiss, there's always something for everyone, every week! 1 year, \$39; 6 months, \$25; or for a sample copy, send \$2 (to cover shipping and handling) to: GCN Subscriptions, 62 Berkeley St., Boston, MA 02116.

ALTERNATIVE PRESS INDEX: TOOL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. API is an invaluable tool for your study of social change. 250 alternative & radical publications indexed. Ask the folks at your library to subscribe. \$125 institutions, \$30 individuals. Write Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218 for more information.

1991-92 DIRECTORY OF ALTERNATIVE & RADICAL PUBLICATIONS. Over 350 periodicals listed, \$4.00. Write: Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218.

Nicaragua speaks for itself!
Barricada Internacional, monthly, bilingual news about Central America. Sample free! \$35/year; \$18/6 mo. Barricada USA-I, PO Box 410150 SF, CA 94141

JEWISH CURRENTS

"Defrosting that Mideast Conference," editorial; "The Tikun-Israel Conference, 1991," Gordon Fellman; "V. Pozner, With and Without Illusions," Bennett Muraskin; "Jewish Historians Face Community," Samuel Goldberger. Single issue: \$2 plus 75¢ postage. Subscription: \$20 yearly (USA).

JEWISH CURRENTS
Dept. T, Suite 601
22 E. 17 Street
New York, NY 10003

Ready for an alternative?

Just clip this ad and return it with your name and address and we'll start you off with a FREE 4-week trial sub to the **GUARDIAN** with no obligation to continue.

Give us a try.

You won't be disappointed!

GUARDIAN Subscription Services
24 West 25th St. Box-ITT
New York, NY 10010-2704

For prompt service call: 1-800-272-2800

SOCIALIST BIWEEKLY. Since 1891. \$1.4 months. The People (ITT). P.O. Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

BOOKS

"ANARCHIST COOKBOOK" — Available again! \$22, postpaid. Barricade Books, Box 1401-J, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

EROTICA & CURIOSA. Fine and rare materials bought and sold. Catalog, \$2.00. C. Scheiner, 275 Linden Blvd., Brooklyn, NY 11226.

SECULAR HUMANIST LITERATURE. Foremost publisher. Outstanding selections. Reasonable prices. Catalog \$2.00. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

WOMEN DEGRADED BY CHRISTIANITY. Insightful, authoritative historical commentary. Paper, \$4.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

OUR ANIMAL HERITAGE AND SAVAGE MIND. James Harvey Robinson's compelling sociological treatise. Paper, \$4.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

PAGAN ORIGINS OF THE CHRIST MYTH. Absorbing, factual dissertation on the historicity of Jesus. Paper, \$5.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail enquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

BECOME AN IN THESE TIMES SUSTAINER

Our Sustainers actively support IN THESE TIMES by donating on a monthly or quarterly basis. Plus, all new Sustainers receive two (free) six-month gift subscriptions! Sustainers who pledge a minimum of \$10 per month or \$25 per quarter also receive their IN THESE TIMES subscription free of charge. For information on enrollment, contact:

Kevin O'Donnell
ITT
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60647

NUDIST VIDEOS
FAMILY NATURISM
\$3 for color catalog:
NAT-FAM (ITT), Box 838,
Venice, CA 90294

LINCOLN THE FREETHINKER. Compelling, in-depth analysis of the little known unorthodox religious views of the Great Emancipator. Paper, \$5.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

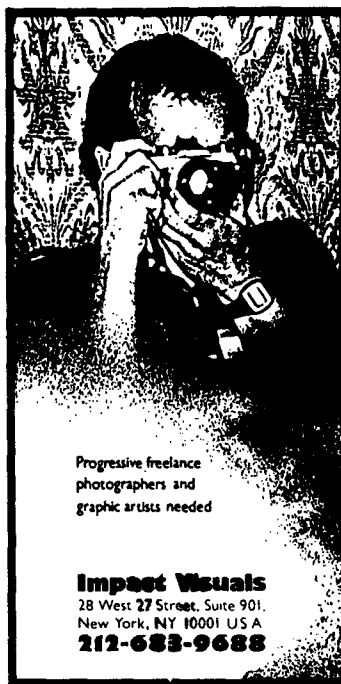
EDUCATION

FULLY APPROVED UNIVERSITY DEGREES! Economical home study for Bachelor's, Master's, Ph.D., fully approved by the California Superintendent of Public Instruction. Prestigious faculty counsels for independent study and life experience credits (5,000 enrolled student, 400 faculty). Free information—Richard Crews, M.D. (Harvard), President, Columbia Pacific University, Dept. 3K80, 1415 Third Street, San Rafael, CA 94901. Toll free: (800) 227-0119; California: (800) 552-5522; or (415) 459-1650.

AVOID YUPPIEDOM, cumbersome affluence, stolen pension funds, golden parachutes, S&L indictments. Become a professional peacemaker. Peace Studies Institute, Manchester College, North Manchester, IN 46962.

PERSONALS

NATIONWIDE SINGLES PHOTO MAGAZINE. Send name, address, age. Send no money. Exchange, 200 Union Blvd., Suite 430-A, Lakewood, CO 80228.



SINGLES SHARING VALUES on peace, ecology, spirituality, personal growth connect AT THE GATE. Free details. Box 03506-ITT, Columbus, OH 43209.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible left singles concerned about peace, justice, racism, the environment. National international membership. All ages. Since 1984. Free sample: Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

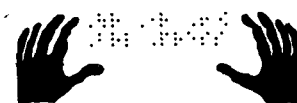
CLOTHING

QUALITY RECYCLED CLOTHING Mail-order. Spruce Doodles, 300D W. Robles, Santa Rosa, CA 95407, (707) 584-1293.

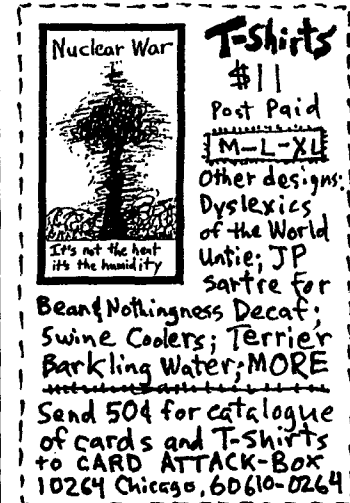
PRODUCTS

WREATHS FROM THE MAINE WOODS made by producers' Craft Co-op. 22" Undecorated, \$14.50; 22" Decorated, red bow, berries and pine cones, \$18.50. Shipping charges and gift card included. H.O.M.E., Inc., P.O. Box 10, Orland, ME 04472.

The Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc.



For blind and print-handicapped persons, selected articles from IN THESE TIMES are included in FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL (FI), a quarterly review of minority and independent Left publications, produced by the Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc., on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A 4-issue subscription to FI costs \$5. Send to: Our Right To Know Braille Press, Inc. 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217, (313) 842-1804



AT LAST! A THINKING PERSON'S NOVEL ... ONLY AN INNOVATIVE, AWARD WINNING NOVELIST COULD WRITE THE MOST DARING BOOK OF THE DECADE: "Slayer of the Sacred Cow"

A Contemporary Freethought Novel by Carl Shapiro

There's plenty of action, drama, romance, suspense, and intellectual excitement in this dynamic 28-chapter story about an outspoken Manhattan atheist who hits the jackpot in the New York State Lotto. Needless to say, members of the religious hierarchy and many of their more fanatical cohorts are shocked, after a major newspaper interviews the 39-year-old millionaire, and he airs his iconoclastic views unabashedly. The events which follow, the unforgettable characters, and the startling, tension-packed climax, make this compelling novel impossible to put down (in more ways than one!)

SOFTCOVER
\$10.95
POSTPAID (U.S.A.)

INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS
PO Box 102
Ridgefield NJ 07657

Complete the cycle. Buy recycled.

The One Stop For REAL Recycled Paper Products.

Free Catalog (800) 323-2811

Atlantic Recycled Paper Co.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Work Like Your Own Sales Force!

We're the *only* national newsweekly offering the variety of readers you won't find anywhere else. It's the inexpensive way to promote your product, service or organization.

Word Rates:

95¢ per word 1 or 2 issues
85¢ per word 3-5 issues
80¢ per word 6-9 issues
75¢ per word 10-19 issues
65¢ per word 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$30 per inch 1 or 2 issues
\$28 per inch 3-5 issues
\$26 per inch 6-9 issues
\$24 per inch 10-19 issues
\$22 per inch 20 or more issues

Classified ads must be prepaid. Complete the coupon below and enclose it along with your ad copy and payment to:
IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Ad deadline is Friday, 12 days prior to the Wednesday cover date.

Return

By Jeff Balch

Re-reading the immortal Gettysburg Address as its 128th anniversary (November 19) approaches, I wonder what Abraham Lincoln might have to say about the disintegration of the USSR and about ensuing proposals to cut U.S. military spending by a paltry 3 or 4 percent. Here is the speech that I think Lincoln would deliver today, reviewing a U.S. budget that remains enslaved by the military-industrial complex.

Address

Four score and seven months ago, Mikhail Gorbachov began to bring forth upon the Asian continent a new nation, conceding new liberties, and dedicated to the proposition that the Soviet Union would be re-created.

"Now we are engaged in ending a great Cold War, which tested whether that nation, or our own nation, would long endure. The whole world was the great battlefield of that war. Our leaders designated portions of that field as final resting places for many nuclear warheads, buried there, they said, so that both nations might live. It was altogether unfitting and improper that they did this.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot tolerate, we cannot exonerate, we cannot follow their course of high overall military spending. Bush administration officials, living and dead, who lobbied here, have defended it almost beyond our own power to add (to the domestic budget) or detract (from the Pentagon budget). (Rich people may little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but the poor and the middle class must never forget what they did here.)

"It is for us, the liberals, therefore, to be dedicated here to the work which they fought against and so ignobly impeded. It is for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us: that from these misguided national spending priorities we take increased devotion to the cause of economic conversion, that we here highly resolve that the Soviet Union shall not have collapsed in vain, that our own nation shall have a new birth of leadership, and that government spending for the people, by the people, on behalf of the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Lincoln's specific criticisms of U.S. military spending—still at the Cold War level of about \$300 billion per year, and still siphoning funds away from the common folk with whom Lincoln most identified—would have to wait for another speech. But I suspect that his notes for that speech would include the following questions:

Why do fear and distrust apparently continue to be the chief determinants of an aggressive U.S. military policy, even though the Soviet Union, rapidly unraveling, is having trouble feeding itself? How can we possibly justify, for example, the continued production of the B-2 bomber?

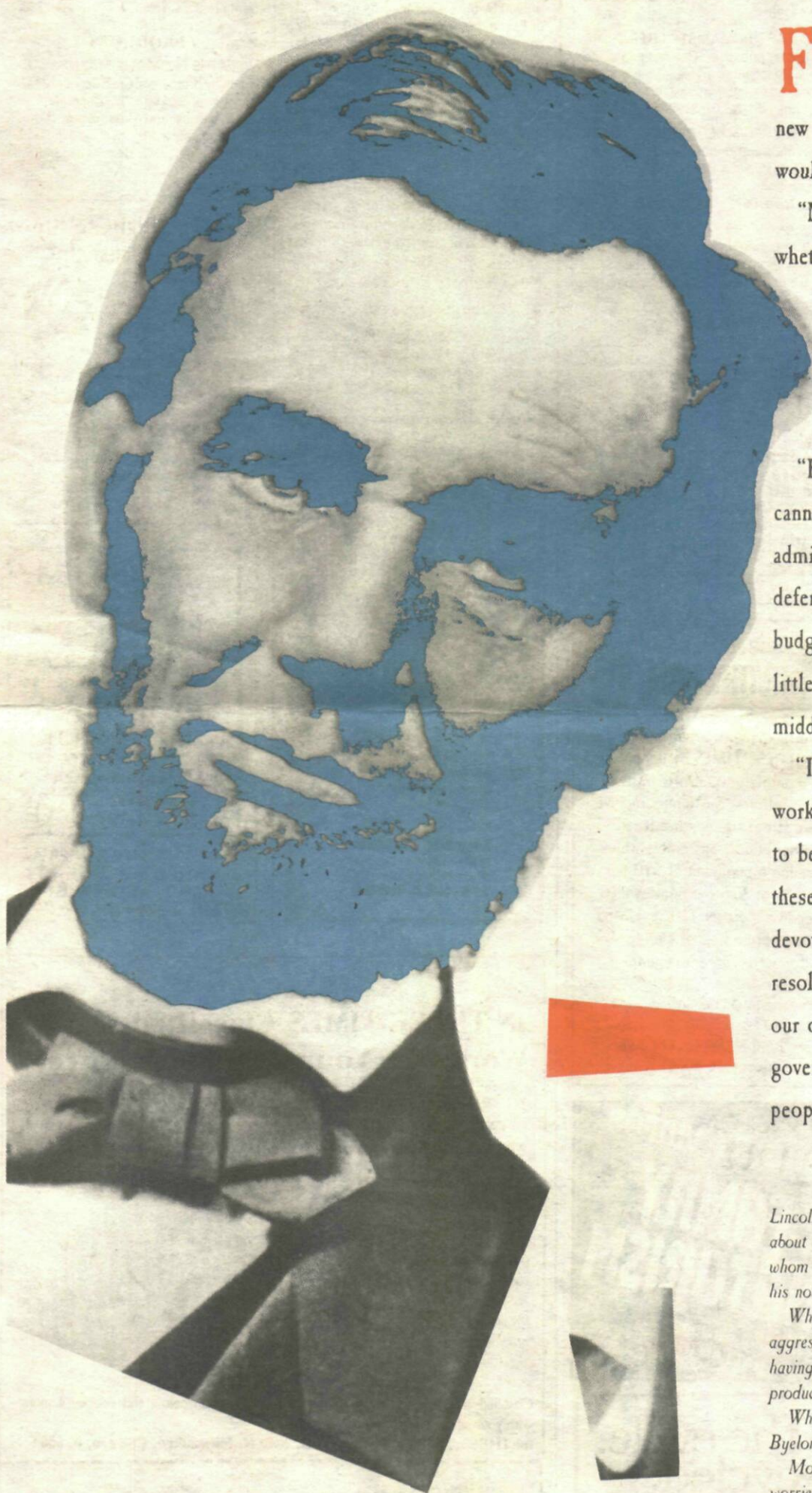
Why hasn't the U.S. government responded to the declarations of the Ukraine and Byelorussia that they are nuclear-free zones?

More broadly, in determining our foreign policy, are contemporary U.S. leaders worried mostly about war, or about fading U.S. hegemony, or simply about the threat that global political changes pose to a military-based economy? When will we find the courage to begin to transform that economy?

A Union senator, arguing with Lincoln as the American Civil War drew to a close, declared: "Sir, I believe that enemies should be destroyed!"

Replied Lincoln: "I agree with you, sir, and I know of no better way to destroy an enemy than to make him a friend."

Jeff Balch is a writer living in Chicago.



**Honest Abe
comes back
to speak
his peace.**